

The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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On the left the Lviv Town Hall, West Ukraine, where in June, 1941
an Independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed. In the foreground
the "Prosvita" Building.

Jaroslav STETSKO — last prime minister of Free Ukraine

WE ACCUSE MOSCOW AND REMIND THE FREE WORLD

October 15 marked the 20th year since the assassination of the leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle — Stepan Bandera, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Stepan Bandera was murdered by an agent of the KGB, Bohdan Stashynsky, on the territory of the German Federal Republic by means of a poison gun. The murder was carried out on a directive of the Soviet Russian government of N. Khrushchov and on the explicit order of the KGB chief, Aleksander Shelepin, which were approved by the head of the Supreme Soviet, K. Voroschilov. We accuse the government of the USSR, the Central Committee and the Politburo of CPSU of genocide and murder, a policy and practice which is being conducted systematically to this day.

A similar assassination, also planned and ordered by the Soviet government, took place in 1957 when the Ukrainian exile politician and academician, Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet, was murdered also by Stashynsky. According to the testimony of Stashynsky before the German Federal Court in Karlsruhe, an assassination attempt was also to be carried out against the former Ukrainian Prime Minister and current head of the OUN and the ABN — Jaroslav Stetsko.

The German Supreme Court in October 1962 convicted the assassin Stashynsky for his complicity in the murder to 8 years imprisonment, while the actual guilt for the assassination was ascribed to the Soviet Russian government, specifically to Alexander Shelepin, the former head of the Committee for State Security (KGB). Such criminal methods of liquidating leading members of the liberation movements of the captive nations by the Soviet Russian government have not changed to this day, neither on the territory of the so-called USSR nor in her satellites, where the security services are under the direct control of the KGB. The same applies to the persecution and liquidation of such leaders in the free world, who oppose Russia's colonial rule. A recent example of this was the assassination of the Bulgarian author and contributor to the BBC in London, Georgi Markov, by the KGB controlled Bulgarian secret service. The murder weapon was a poisoned needle at the tip of an umbrella. Bandera's assassin, Stashynsky, told of plans in 1962 of precisely this nature when he testified about the potential assassination of Jaroslav Stetsko. He literally said: "We may well have used a poisoned needle released from a device by air pressure which would leave no trace behind".

The recent kidnapping of the Lithuanian sportsman, Vladislav Cesiunas, who sought political asylum in Germany is a stark reminder of the impunity with which the KGB continues its operations on the territory of sovereign Western states. Yet it appears that the German government is more interested in helping the Kremlin to cover up this sordid affair.

ASSASSINATION CONTINUES

In the last several years the KGB was involved in the murders of the following Ukrainian activists: the artist A. Horska with an axe; R. Paleckij; two Ukrainian Catholic priests, Luskij and Luchkiw, as well as the composer V. Ivasiuk, were hanged; the author, H. Snehirov, was murdered in a hospital; a member of the leadership of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, M. Soroka, was murdered on the eve of his release from 25 years imprisonment. There are hundreds of unknown others.

Most recently, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group in Kyiv — Lev Lukyanenko, M. Rudenko, O. Tykhy, M. Marynowych, V. Ovsienko, and others have been sentenced to terms of up to 15 years imprisonment and exile by Russian occupational courts.

Hundreds of Ukrainian authors, artists and scientists, were sentenced to brutal terms of imprisonment of 12-15 years in 1972 on the sole grounds that their works contained Ukrainian Patriotic and Christian elements. Among these are: I. Svitlychny, I. Hel, I. Kalynets, E. Sverstiuk, V. Stus, Z. Krasivskyj, and many others who still languish in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric asylums.

Unprecedented is the persecution of Y. Shukhevych, the son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Yuriy Shukhevych has been sentenced several times for a total of 30 years imprisonment because he refused to denounce the legacy and ideals for which his father fought and died. Numerous members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) are routinely sentenced in secret trials for up to 15 years isolation in high security prisons, while some of them have been secretly executed.

GENOCIDE THROUGH RUSSIFICATION

The 25th Congress of the CPSU passed a resolution regarding "further improvements in the education and training of students in public schools", which in fact directed that all schools in the non-Russian republics are to increase the teaching of the Russian language as the "language of friendship and brotherly relations of the peoples of the USSR". As a result of this resolution, the Colonial Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR decided in November 1978 that in the period 1979-85 the Russification processes will be intensified and "upcoming generations are to have a complete knowledge of the Russian language". Consequently, beginning in 1980, the

Russian language will be introduced in the first grades of all public schools in Ukraine. This move has alarmed the population of Ukraine and calls for the maintenance of the mother tongue have already been issued. Among the many protests, it was pointed out that in the next school year the Russian language will assume a dominating position not only in the public schools but also in the kindergartens at the cost of the Ukrainian language instruction. This situation is already evident compounded by the fact that in the larger centres in Ukraine most schools already provide instruction exclusively in the Russian language.

It has become clear that the current leadership of the USSR is in fact continuing and intensifying the Russification and assimilation of the former Russian czars. Today, the policy objectives of the czarist Minister of Education, D. Tolstoj, are being realized. Tolstoj had stated in 1870 that "our goal in the education of the non-Russian peoples... is their Russification and assimilation with the Russian nation". Further proof that the policy of assimilating the non-Russian peoples is being stepped-up systematically, was offered this May at an academic conference in Tashkent, Turkestan, where the Minister of Education of the Soviet Union presented in his speech precise party directives concerning increased Russification programmes beginning at the kindergarten level.

MILLIONS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

According to a recent document signed by Ukrainian political prisoners: M. Matusewych, Z. Antoniuk, V. Marchenko and the Russian dissident, Y. Orlov, there are currently 5 million citizens (2% of the Soviet population) in Soviet Russian prisons, labour camps and in exile. In the document, written in April 1979 and smuggled out of a Perm concentration camp, Y. Orlov states the following: "The nationality policy being conducted by the USSR is reflected in the composition of the inmates of the camps. Accordingly the inmates of the camps in the Urals and Mordovia are composed of: 40% Ukrainians, up to 30% Balts, and ca. 30% other nationalities. The major burden of the struggle against the arbitrariness in the camps today, as in the Stalinist camps, falls upon the shoulders of Ukrainians. If the sea of unemployed is considered to be a typical evil of the capitalist system, then the equal strong contingent of human beings who are conducted to force labour must be considered as a typical evil of the totalitarian socialist system".

OLYMPIC COINS MADE IN GULAG

One of the most shameful moments of this century must surely be the consent of the free world to hold the Olympic Games in Moscow — the centre of horrible genocide and murder, the capital of the vast and most brutal colonial empire in the world, and the administrative

centre of concentration camps, psychiatric asylums and Russification policies. To add to this sad spectacle, it has become evident that the medals and souvenirs of these Olympic Games are being produced by the forced labour of political prisoners whose work norms are being increased through punitive isolation, torture and lower food rations. The sale of these Olympic items to western tourists will provide the USSR with lucrative profits. Facts concerning this were revealed at the International Sakharov Hearings in Washington this September by M. Scharygin, recently released Ukrainian political prisoner whose 10 year imprisonment provided him with insights into the production of these items.

We appeal to the free world, for the sake of its own honour and dignity, to take the following position concerning the Moscow Olympics: as long as human beings are being imprisoned in Russian prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums or exiled for their political or religious beliefs, as long as the assimilation of the captive nations robs them of their national, linguistic, ethnic and cultural identity, and as long as due to the Soviet Russian colonial policies priests, artists, writers and freedom fighters are being murdered and hanged, no athlete of the free world should set foot on Moscow's Olympic stadiums.

A SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

Today we are witnessing in Ukraine, as in other subjugated nations, a spiritual and ideological renaissance of the young generation in a national and religious sense. The ideas of materialism, Marxism and Leninism are dead. The youth strives for the ideals of God, of their nation and fatherland, for spiritual values, for an understanding of the great epochs and personalities of their nation's past *Back to our tradition* — is the revolutionary slogan of the current struggle, a slogan which not only confined to Ukraine.

The self-realization of a nation's traditional, spiritual, cultural, ethnic, social and political values, and the spontaneous struggle for them in all spheres of life in opposition to the forces of foreign bolshevist concepts is typical of the current phase of our liberation struggle. This is a struggle between two world-views, two philosophies, two opposing concepts of the natural order, two conflicting concepts of culture, a fight between differing concepts of social and economical order, where the idea of nation is opposed to the philosophy of imperialism, religion against atheism, individualism against collectivism, heroic humanism against barbarism and terror, the idea of man as a God-created being versus hatred and the trampling of human dignity.

As freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain have stated, we live in the age of liberational nationalism which is diametrically opposed to imperialism, chauvinism, racism and totalitarianism. In view of this, the ideals of national liberation and demands for the dissolution of

the Russian empire must become an integral part of the foreign policies of the West, just as Marxism/Leninism has become an integral component of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union.

HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT BE ATTAINED WITHOUT NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The human rights of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union cannot be realised unless they gain their complete national sovereignty and independence through the decolonization of the Soviet Russian Empire. Any hope for a possible democratization and liberation of the Soviet Russian Empire is a delusion. The maintenance of an empire is synonymous with the rule of force over other peoples and thus excludes any possibility of respect for their individual human rights coupled with the denial of national independence and the right to national identity.

S. Bandera gave his life in the struggle for the national independence of Ukraine and for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, and consequently, also for the national and human rights of all oppressed peoples in this empire. The fact that he has become a symbol for this struggle is signified by the extensively used term "Banderivtsi" to designate all those who fight for their national liberation as a precondition for the realization of their human rights. We advocate the idea of national revolutions of the enslaved nations through which Russian colonial imperialism and communist tyranny will be destroyed from within. Our concept of freedom is, therefore, not based on any models of a global nuclear war but on the principle of national revolutions as the only possible alternative to precisely such an apocalyptic war. National uprisings within the Russian empire provide the only possible means to secure peace, not the current policies of "detente" which will sooner or later lead to a catastrophic global atomic conflict.

The approaching 80's provide all indications of notable changes in the Russian Empire. The majority of the population of the USSR consists of oppressed non-Russian peoples: Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Byelorussian, Lithuanians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Armenians, N. Caucasians, Siberians, Azerbaijanians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, and others. We must also take into account the oppressed peoples in the so-called satellite states: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania. The forces of the dominating Russian nation, of which some its own members reject the Communist system, constitute less than a third in a sea of oppressed peoples. These proportions are also reflected in the composition of the armed forces which constitute the Warsaw Pact. We must not forget that there is no such phenomenon as a "Soviet nation" behind the Iron Curtain, but rather a ruling Russian nation which through Communist tyranny dominates numerically stronger

oppressed nations. This Russian colonial empire is today a monstrous anachronism in an age when decolonization and the dissolution of former imperial complexes is the order of the day.

NATIONAL LIBERATION AS A SIGN OF OUR ERA

In the same measure that Russia's Imperial drive proceeds towards the conquest of new lands, grow the weaknesses of the empire and the number of its enemies within its specific spheres of influence as well as globally. There are no signs that the opportunistic forces of the West will again come to the assistance of this colonial empire as they did during the last two world wars.

The idea of national liberation among the oppressed nations coupled with their fervent patriotism and unconquered religious beliefs, is gaining strength. National uprisings, which will occur sooner or later will bring an end to the reactionary, totalitarian, bolshevik rule of terror. In our era, when numerous former colonial nations and regions on all continents have been granted sovereignty and have been admitted to the United Nations, there can be no justification for the existence of this Russian Empire which enslaves nations with 1000 year old cultures and traditions. The western world cannot afford to remain silent and unconcerned about the struggle of Ukraine, Latvia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Turkestan or Hungary. A decisive moment in the fight against Russian imperial rule and Communist tyranny is in the offing and the free nations of the world have a duty to draw the necessary conclusions in this situation.

WHERE IS THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF THE WEST?

We do not demand that western soldiers fight and die for our freedom and independence. The current international situation, however, demands that the West take measures to save itself from the red flood. Here the maxim "he who helps us helps himself" is applicable. It must not be forgotten that the enemy's weapons are in the hands of our people who can turn them at the appropriate moment against their oppressors. Primarily, we ask that no more aid be given to our and the free world's enemy as has been repeatedly done on the political-psychological, economic, technological and even military level in the past. There can be no repetition of the silence and in action by the West while uprisings in Hungary or Ukraine, or revolts in Soviet Russian concentration camps are brutally put down by the Russians.

The constitution of the USSR states that the government and the Party are compelled to support all so-called "wars of liberation", in so far as they aid the communist world revolution with all possible

means. This is being done systematically to the extent that the USSR provokes and even begins such wars in Africa, Latin America, Asia and in the Near East. In contrast to this, the constitutions and laws of western states do not even allow that the imprisoned members of the Helsinki monitoring groups, who have renounced their Soviet citizenship, be granted citizenship of those western states, e.g. the USA for which they formally applied.

Today, Russian troops are stationed under various guises in Angola, Ethiopia and Cuba. Terrorists falsely labelled as "freedom-fighters" are being trained in the USSR for the disruption of Western states and their social and legal order. What in turn has the West done in support of the liberation struggle of the captive nations? Despite various resolutions and conventions of the United Nations concerning decolonization, national self-determination and independence, the West has not seen fit to utilize instruments on a political or diplomatic level with respect to the USSR.

As an example of public law no. 86-90 of the adopted United States on July 19, 1959 regarding the captive nations. This Act obligates the US Congress to give its active support to the liberation of Ukraine and all other nations enslaved by Russian Imperialism and Communism. How has the US implemented this law?

The UN declaration concerning "decolonization and the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" adopted by the UN General Assembly on Dec. 14, 1960 and the "Action Programme" for the full implementation of the declaration adopted by the same body in 1970, should be directed by the Western powers at the Soviet Russian empire and all steps taken toward the establishment of independent democratic states in place of the present imperial conglomerate.

On Dec. 20, 1976, 107 member states of the UN General Assembly voted not only for the right of independence for the African state of Namibia but also declared its support for Namibia's "armed liberation struggle" terming it just on international, legal, moral and political grounds. It is only correct and just that the same principles be extended to Ukraine, a nation of 53 million, with 1000 year old traditions and a centuries-long independence struggle and to all other nations oppressed by Russia. We demand that the Ukrainian liberation movement be given recognition through the accreditation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at the United Nations on the same legal basis and with similar status enjoyed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Such recognition should be also extended to analogous organizations of the other captive nations.

NEWSBRIEF

ABN STAND ON AFGHANISTAN INVASION

Following the Soviet-Russian invasion of Afghanistan the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations branch in New York held a well-attended press conference on January 10.

The president of the local branch, Mr. P. Voytenas chaired the conference which was also attended by Mrs. S. Stetsko, a member of ABN's central committee.

The ABN strongly condemned the invasion of Afghanistan and suggested the West should now take a firm and principled stand against this latest act of aggression. One ABN member said the West should now take the offensive when dealing with the USSR rather than restrict itself to a defensive attitude.

The ABN New York branch also sent a resolution to Mr. James Carter, President of the USA, advocating the following reactions to the USSR's latest act of hostility:—

1. A firm and active resolve on the part of the Western democracies to support the struggle of all countries occupied by Russia including those subjugated in the USSR.

2. The immediate cancellation by the USA of the SALT II agreement.

3. A boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

4. The introduction of all viable economic and trade sanctions against the USSR including consideration of a blockade and the halting of all trade credits.

In Britain the Ukrainian view about the Afghanistan invasion was presented in a letter printed in the *Times* on January 11. The letter is reprinted below.

Sir, Since the latest Soviet act of aggression, this time against Afghanistan, various suggestions how to deal with the Russians have been put forward in the columns of your newspaper. May I, a former Soviet subject, be permitted to express thoughts which, I am sure, are shared by millions of people inside the Soviet Union?

Most of the recently publicized western measures against the USSR are welcome, but only time will tell how determined western leaders and peoples will be in applying them. Past experience does not cheer one up.

There is a weapon, however, about which responsible people in the West, information media included, maintain silence but which the Russian rulers fear more than all the western nuclear arsenals put together. This mighty weapon is the national liberation aspiration and movements of the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union, the last large colonial empire.

Now is the highest time for the West, instead of helping the Russians proper to preserve their empire for various immoral reasons,

to help the tens of peoples inside that empire — the 50 million Ukrainians first of all — to regain their freedom and independent statehood and thus reduce the presentday powerful empire, which is a constant threat to the West, to several states which would not be a threat to others now and for centuries to come. The declared future frontiers of freedom must not extend to Moscow's satellite states only!

The West should turn the openly pursued Russian policy of recognizing and arming pseudo-National Marxist movements in countries outside the Soviet Union against the Russians themselves by supporting the representative bodies of the genuine national liberation movements inside the Russian empire, like the Anti-Bolshevik block of nations.

For much too long the West has not shown any initiative in matters concerning liberty of man and of peoples inside the Soviet Union allowing the Russians a free hand for subversion in all corners of the world.

Yours faithfully,

IVAN KRUSHELNYCKY,
Caversham,
Reading."

PSYCHIATRISTS TO INVESTIGATE TERELYA CASE

The World Association of Psychiatrists is to investigate the treatment of Ukrainian dissident Josef Terelya who has been imprisoned in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1977.

The use of psychiatry by the Soviet-Russian Government as a weapon to suppress opposition had been a taboo subject for two years at conferences of the psychiatrists' association. But intervention by Amnesty International is attributed as the reason for allowing the item to be placed on the agenda.

The association will investigate a number of psychiatric abuse by the Soviet-Russian Government.

Josef Terelya, aged 37, was first arrested in 1962 on charges of stealing weapons. He escaped in 1972 but was recaptured and imprisoned in a psychiatric prison. In 1976 he was released but was re-arrested in 1977 for writing letters protesting the conditions of his imprisonment. Since 1979 he has been gravely ill.

CARTER ON HELSINKI

President James Carter of the United States delivered this statement on the fourth anniversary of the Helsinki Accords.

On this day in 1975, the leaders of thirty-five states met in Helsinki to sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They pledged to build a future of peace and stability in

Europe on the strong foundation of mutual understanding and respect for fundamental human rights.

In the years since Helsinki, we have witnessed conscientious efforts on the part of many signatory states to fulfill, fully and completely, their obligations under the Final Act. We have made progress in ensuring the freer flow of people and ideas. Flagrant abuses of human rights no longer go unnoticed and unchallenged. The Final Act provision which calls for notification of large military maneuvers has worked well. The spirit of Helsinki is alive. But there have also been important setbacks. For example, in the German Democratic Republic, harsh new laws designed to restrict contact with foreigners will take effect today, on the anniversary of Helsinki. In Czechoslovakia, members of the Charter 77 movement remain in prison facing trial for their dedication to basic human freedoms. In the Soviet Union, organizations established to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Agreement have been harassed and their members jailed. Acts like these are totally inconsistent with pledges made at Helsinki.

On the anniversary of the Helsinki accords, I rededicate this Administration and this Nation to strive tirelessly for full implementation of the Final Act. We will continue to review our own record in preparation for the meeting of CSCE states at Madrid in 1980. And we call upon other signatory states to work with us so that we may mutually fulfill the obligations undertaken at Helsinki to peace, security, and human rights.

Washington, August 1, 1979"

CONFERENCE ON ETHNICITY IN LITERATURE

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies was the co-sponsor of a conference at Alberta University, Canada, entitled *Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada*.

The conference was held in September 1979 and dealt with minority culture writers in Canada.

Dr. Yar Slavutych who participated in the conference said a farmer named Ivan Zbura from Beaver Creek, Alberta, was the first poet to write and publish an original Ukrainian-Canadian work in 1898.

UKRAINIAN EDUCATION MINISTRY RESHUFFLE

The recent emphasis placed on improving ideological work throughout the Soviet Union has had its first practical consequences in the Ukraine. On July 4, a front-page announcement in *Radyans'ka Ukraina* announced the appointment of Michail Vladimirovich Fomenko as minister of education of the Ukrainian SSR. Simultaneously, a short item on the last page reported that Aleksander Mefod'evich

Marinich, who had held the post of Ukrainian minister of education since March 12, 1971, was being relieved of his responsibilities "in connection with his transfer to scientific work".¹

Marinich, who is fifty-eight years old, was recently criticized by Ukrainian Party leader Vladimir Shcherbitsky at the meeting of the republican Party aktiv on June 7-8 that examined the state of ideological work in the Ukraine. Discussing the need for raising the level of ideological work with the republic's youth, Shcherbitsky stated:

The republic's ministry of education, as well as several of its scientific-research institutes, have been dilatory in improving educational work. Their analysis of the real processes that are taking place in the life of the school are poor and their study and dissemination of advanced experience is unsatisfactory.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the ministry of education (A. M. Marinich) is not drawing the [proper] conclusions from criticism and is working as before.²

In the same speech, Shcherbitsky singled out the educational newspaper *Radyans'ka osvita* and its editor for particular criticism. Underlining the need for individual newspapers to have their own "profile", the Ukrainian Party leader said:

And if we take a newspaper like *Radyans'ka osvita* (editor S. P. Zavoloka), we see that trite themes, uninteresting materials, and the monotonous format in fact frequently make it dull and inarticulate.³

In view of such criticism, one must conclude that Marinich has been sacked. The same fate has befallen Zavoloka. The last issue of *Radyans'ka osvita* that still identifies him as editor is that for June 13. Responsibility for the next five issues was taken over by the deputy editor, I. Shcherbatenko, and as of July 4 the new editor *Radyans'ka osvita* has been G. Krimchuk.

Mikhail Vladimirovich Fomenko, the new minister of education, was born in 1934 and is a graduate of the Zaporozh'e Pedagogical Institute. His early career in the field of education was in the Donetsk region. He was a teacher, head of the educational department, and then director of a school before moving to the posts of head of the raion and city departments of education and deputy head of the department of education of the Donetsk Oblast Executive Committee. In 1968 Fomenko was transferred to Party work, first as deputy head of the science and educational institutions department of the Donetsk Oblast Committee and later as head of a section of the science and

1) *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, July 4, 1979. On Marinich's appointment to the post of minister of education, see *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, March 13, 1971. A short biographical sketch of Marinich appears in Borys Lewytzkyj and Juliusz Stroynowski, eds., *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries*, New York and Munich, K. G. Saur Publishing Inc., 1978, p. 383.

2) *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, June 8, 1979.

3) *Ibid.*

educational institutions department of the Ukrainian Central Committee. Since 1974 he had been first deputy minister of education of the Ukrainian SSR.⁴

Fomenko's promotion should be viewed not only as a result of the criticism levelled at his predecessor, but perhaps also in connection with the recent renewed emphasis on improving the teaching of the Russian language throughout the USSR.⁵ The latest issue of *Russky yazyk i literatura v shkolakh USSR* carries a lead article by Fomenko on the measures adopted last fall by the Collegium of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education regarding improvement of the study and teaching of Russian in schools in the Ukraine.⁶

Marinich is the first top-level Ukrainian government official to fall victim to the housecleaning announced by Shcherbitsky in the aftermath of the recent all-Union decree on ideological work. Somewhat earlier, the Ukraine's top ideologist, Valentin Malanchuk was "transferred to other work" in what also appears to have been a purge. It now remains to be seen what the further consequences of this ideological crisis will be.

BANDERA ASSASSINATION DRAMATISED ON TELEVISION

An hour-long television programme in a British Broadcasting Corporation drama series — *Spy!* — dealt with the assassination of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

The programme was screened on BBC television in January and was an accurate portrayal of the KGB's murder plot which ended with the assassination of Stepan Bandera and another prominent Ukrainian exile, Dr. Lev Rebet, by a KGB agent, Bohdan Stashinsky.

The programme went into detail, making use of old newsreels and going into the technical aspects of the murder weapon, a cyanide-vapour gun which made the victim appear to have died of a heart attack.

Press reviews and comment drew an uncomfortable parallel between the method of Bandera's murder and the murder of emigre Bulgarian journalist, Georgi Markov, killed by a poison-pellet gun concealed in an umbrella as Markov left a BBC studio after broadcasting against the Russian-backed Bulgarian regime in 1979.

4) *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, July 4, 1979.

5) See RL 120/79, "New Measures to Improve the Teaching of Russian in the Union Republics", April 17, 1979; RL 169/79, "A Weekly Russian-Language Day in Uzbekistan?", May 31, 1979; and RL 188/79, "The Draft Recommendations of the Tashkent Conference: A New Wave of Russification?", June 19, 1979.

6) M. V. Fomenko, "Sovershenstvovat' izuchenie i prepodavanie russkogo yazyka i literatury", *Russky yazyk i literatura v shkolakh USSR*, No. 3, May-June, 1979, pp. 3-7.

UKRAINIAN-ENGLISH BILINGUAL CLASSES IN CANADA

Manitoba is the second province in Canada to have introduced English-Ukrainian bilingual classes in the public school system this fall.

A total of nine classes have been approved — 2 kindergarten and 7 grade 1 classes — as part of a new pilot program which will continue to the end of grade III. Five school divisions are participating in the program.

The classes use Ukrainian as a language of instruction up to 50% of each teaching day. Science, mathematics, and English language arts will be taught in English while the other subjects — social studies, music, physical education, art, and Ukrainian language arts will be taught in Ukrainian.

Manitoba's pilot is modelled on the very successful program introduced in Alberta six years ago. Currently over 750 students are enrolled in classes from kindergarten to grade VI throughout Alberta.

The Manitoba provincial government took the initiative to offer the same language opportunities in Manitoba and last July the Public Schools Act was amended to enable partial immersion programs in languages other than English or French.

RARE UKRAINIAN BOOK DISPLAYED

A rare copy of the first Ukrainian book printed in Canada, from the collection of the National Library of Canada, was featured in a two-month book exhibition at the University of Toronto Library.

The Christian Catechism, a 39-page bilingual Ukrainian-English book printed in 1904 in Winnipeg was exhibited with 250 other books.

JEWISH-UKRAINIAN COOPERATION URGED

The executive committee of the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry at a Chicago meeting adopted a resolution supporting cooperation between Jewish and Ukrainian dissidents in the USSR and calling for more cooperation between Ukrainians and Jews in the USA.

The resolution went as follows:—

“RESOLVED, that the cooperation between organizations of American Jews, the dissident Soviet Jews and the dissident Ukrainians, including the Ukrainians’ public endorsement of the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate exemplifies the finest standards of brotherhood, resulting in successful efforts to free such dissident Ukrainians and Jews, and it is hereby endorsed and commended”, said the resolution. “Further resolved, that the efforts of the dissident Ukrainians in endorsing the right of the Soviet Jews to emigrate, notwithstanding their great personal sacrifice and risk, is a noble exercise and a clear example of the brotherhood of man”.

UKRAINIAN SCULPTS OFFICIAL BUST OF POPE

Winnipeg sculptor Leo Mol (Molodozhanyan) was commissioned to do the official bust of Pope John Paul II for the Vatican and in a special ceremony presented the larger than life sculpture to the Pope on September 21. The commission was the latest in a series of assignments which have put the Ukrainian Canadian artist among the top in the world in his craft.

On the day of the presentation in Rome, a cast of the papal portrait bust was also unveiled by Toronto cardinal Gerald Emmett Carter at the McMichael Gallery in Kleinburg, Ont. The unveiling marked the beginning of an exhibit of Mol's works since 1952 at the government sponsored gallery. The exhibition will run for three months until New Year's Eve. The opening of the Mol exhibit in Kleinburg (20 miles north of Toronto), despite the artist's absence, was attended by a host of dignitaries including Ontario government ministers Tom Wells, James Auld and Frank Drea, media guru Marshall McLuhan and hockey star Frank Mahovlich.

The exhibit is the first comprehensive display of Mol's work in Ontario and Ukrainian Canadians from Toronto and surrounding areas should not miss it.

NEW PUBLICATION

IN THE WHIRLPOOL OF COMBAT

by Yuriy Boretz.

- The memoirs of the author depicting the efforts of the Ukrainian underground struggle for an independent Ukraine during and after the Second World War.
- Published by Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik, Munich, 1974.
- Hard cover. 322 pp.
- Price: £4.00 (\$10.00).

Available from:

Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.
200, Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

or

Ukrainian Booksellers,
49, Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

NEWS FROM UKRAINE**YEVHEN PRONIUK DESCRIBES WORKING CONDITIONS
IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS**

Yevhen Proniuk, born in 1936, a former research assistant at the Institute of Philosophy, a faculty at the Academy of Sciences in the Ukr. SSR, was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment to be served in strict regime labour camps and to 5 years' exile. Recently he sent a statement to the Supreme Court of the USSR protesting against the deliberate brutalities committed against political prisoners detained in the concentration camps of the USSR. His statement was written in connection with the Yuriy Orlov appeal case.

"I, Yevhen Proniuk, ask you to take my evidence into consideration in your review of Yuriy Orlov's case — accused of unjustly criticising the conditions of imprisonment of political prisoners detained in camps.

Compulsory manual labour is used to castigate political prisoners — it is used to attain their total demoralisation and physical destruction. For example in the work sections of institutions VS-389/35 and VS-389/36, work conditions are very poor.

Political prisoners find compulsory labour so difficult to bear because they are generally people from the intellectual professions (poets, writers, scientists, artists, doctors, lecturers, engineers), and simply do not have the physical strength to fulfill the abnormally high work norms. These norms are calculated for people used to physical labour and who receive normal diets and are able to rest (which prisoners do not). The work here is endless. Apart from this the camp administration groundlessly and without any form of control, raises work norms. Thus at the end of 1977, without having introduced any technical improvements, the administration increased the work norm for the number of oscillators to be built from 525 to 659, and the number of panels to be composed from 578 to 668. These norms have to be fulfilled by the concentrated efforts of the prisoner himself. In general, the work norms in camps are higher than in those plants producing the same product outside the camp system. For example for freely employed workers working in a turbogenerator plant the work norm for composing panels is 575, but for prisoners it is 668.

The administration persecutes those who do not have the strength to fulfill their work norms. Thus at the end of 1976, the journalist V. Marchenko, who suffers from a kidney disease, an inmate of VS-389/35, was punished for only having fulfilled 80-90% of his work norm. Ye. Sverstiuk, a 50-year old writer and inmate of the same camp, was thrust into PKT in April 1979, yet he is not strong enough to fulfill the norms demanded of him on the lathe section.

In the summer of 1977, in VS-385/36, the writer I. Svitlychny was punished for not fulfilling his work norm. He was not strong enough to lift the heavy boxes of parts. S. Sapelyak was confined in SHIZO (a punishment cell) in November 1977 for the same reason. In February 1979 A. Zdorovy was punished for not fulfilling his work norm. On the 10th March 1979 M. Slobodyan, a cultural worker, was confined in SHIZO for the same reason. Another example of brutality was demonstrated when prisoners on hunger strikes were forced to work — thus on the 7th October 1977 the biologist S. Kovalyova, on the fourth day of her hunger strike and on the 8th October 1977 the surgeon I. Kukayskasa, on the fifth day of her hunger strike, were forced to work. In addition they were made to work on the night shift in the boiler room. On the 30th October 1979 I was punished for the first time for not fulfilling my work norm (I had fulfilled 82% of it) and I was threatened with the imposition of every punishment possible if I again failed to fulfil my norms.

There are no showers or warm water anywhere in VS-389/36. Workers wash in cold water filled with rust. There are no individual clothes lockers in the changing rooms so our clean clothes become dirty just hanging on communal pegs.

The camp administration stopped distributing clothes in 1977 — and no more special clothes are given to those working in section no. I, where it is extremely hot. In winter, in workshop number 2, the temperature is never higher than +10-12 deg.C (it should not be lower than 16). Our felt boots are taken from us and our feet freeze on the concrete. During strong frosts (minus 40 and lower) water freezes on the ground. Training time for building oscillators and composing panels has been shortened by the camp administration first from 15 to 5, then from 5 to 3 days. SHIZO prisoners are forced to work in work shops with unprotected turning machines, which often leads to trauma. This was how A. Safranov lost his finger at the beginning of July 1979.

There is no doubt that camp labour is used as the basic means of the spiritual imprisonment of individuals and leads to the total loss of prisoners' health.

Please take this evidence into consideration when reviewing Yu. Orlov's case and use it as material evidence.

Prisoner Yevhen Proniuk, a former research assistant at the Institute of Philosophy at the Academy of Sciences in the Ukr. SSR,

PERSECUTION OF VASYL STUS

In a recent samvydav publication circulating in the USSR, a lengthy document testifies to the continual and organised campaign led by the KGB and its adherents against the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus. The document also shows the lengths the KGB is prepared to go to disseminate the hatred that Russian chauvinists feel for Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples.

Vasyl Stus was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment to be served in camps and to 3 years' exile. After having served his sentence in the Mordovian camps, Stus is presently serving his term of exile in the Tenkinsky rayon, Magadanska oblast, pos. Matrosovo, centr. 33/37, where he works in mines under extremely difficult conditions. The Magadanska oblast is the most northern territory in the USSR, and in winter the average temperature is between minus 19 and minus 48 deg.C.

"In July 1978 the "Leninskoye Znamya" (the paper of the Tenkinsky rayon) printed in three of its editions a special feature series entitled "The Friends and Enemies of Vasyl Stus", (1. "Unexpected Meetings", 2. "A Stranger among Friends", 3. "Let People Know"). The author of the articles was A. Supryha. In later editions, which appeared in July and August, reactions of the public to the series 'Friends and Enemies of Vasyl Stus' were printed.

Vasyl Stus is compared and identified with fascists... The author of the article more than once uses quotes from people with whom he had especially arranged to meet to discuss Stus — these were in the main miners who work with Stus and medical personnel from the hospital where Stus received treatment.

A. Supryha interviewed the sister-administrator of the hospital, and she, describing Stus, recalled her (childhood) meetings with fascists: "three fascists approached me. They were blue with cold... A smile played on their thin lips, but there was malice in their eyes: they were just like that man who stayed in this hospital...".

The following are quotes of other "interlocuters" that A. Supryha used in his articles: "A fanatic, filled with so much hostile ideology, that I just don't believe it", "He has some friends abroad. He gets parcels from the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada. I could understand it if he was sent something useful, but, no he gets oatmeal, tea, rice dried milk, dried soups...".

In the second part of the series, "A Stranger among Friends" Supryha informs his reading public "... Stus is 40 years old... His sentence is 11 years in total... As a writer, only those like him — apostates who won't work for the good of the Land of Soviets, are the only ones who have heard of him. It is precisely on this small group of misfits that anti-communists depend on".

In concluding the second part of the series, A. Supryha quotes Georhiy Kavalev: "what rights is he defending?".

In the third part of the series, "Friends and Enemies of Vasyl Stus", A. Supryha writes: "Vasyl Stus is on the same level as his own idealistic mentors. While living in Kyiv he prepared, collected and disseminated slanderous documents directed against the Soviet regime — against both its government and social order. It was precisely for this that the national court sentenced him to first imprisonment and then exile — which he is now serving in the Matrosova mines".

After the publication of this article, a general meeting was held by the mine workers at which Stus' behaviour was discussed. Speaking at this meeting Stus said: "The whole of officialdom is on the side of liars. It is a waste of time proving my innocence before those hypocrites... In your opinion I am a nationalist. In mine, I am a Ukrainian patriot, a citizen of the sovereign Ukrainian nation... I am a Ukrainian writer, I write poetry and translate Russian, Byelorussian, German, Spanish, French and English poetry; I am the author of many literary critical articles. Yes, I love my Ukrainian nation and feel I am its true son. It is because of this that I have respect for other nations. I have never, not even with one word, abused the national honour of others. Among my longstanding friends who call me brother, there are Russians an Byelorussians, Jews and Ukrainians, Armenians and Moldavians, Lithuanians and Tartars, Georgians and Latvians".

In conclusion suffice it to say that similar repressions and other provocations are organised by the KGB against other political prisoners and Ukrainian patriots.

OPEN LETTER TO BREZHNEV FROM WIFE OF YU. BADZYO

To: The General Secretary of the CC CPSU,
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR —
Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Honoured Leonid Illich,

On the 2nd March, 1979, you announced your electoral programme, declaring it to be the party programme. "The essence of this programme lies in this, that every, and I repeat every Soviet citizen, should feel that he is contributing to the affairs of government, and should be aware that his voice will be heard and taken into account in all decisions made — both large and small".

Exactly one month before, on the 3rd February, a research paper on the problems of Soviet socialism, addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was confiscated from my husband,

Yu. V. Badzyo. It was snatched from his very hands — as he was in mid-sentence. A month and a half later, on the 23rd April, when the electors had approved the essence of your programme and had given their votes for it, Yuriy Badzyo was arrested for “committing a state crime”. Thus this government deems the writing of an article, addressed to the highest Soviet authority, a state crime. But Yuriy Badzyo had acted responsibly and in accordance with the spirit of your programme. He, an ordinary, non-party Soviet citizen, had always been aware of his responsibility to participate in the affairs of government: he considered it his responsibility to hold a dialogue with our government over difficult social questions that troubled his social conscience.

Since 1965 he had often turned to government and social organs, expressing his thoughts and suggestions: in 1977 he took an active role in discussing the proposed Constitution for the USSR due to his deep concern over the articles which would have led to the creation of a single federal state; over the articles concerned with political freedoms; over the concept of the “betrayal of the fatherland” and so on.

All this Yuriy Badzyo did as a citizen of his nation appealing to his own government. He did not publicise his social activities — not even his closest friends knew of them. His only concern was, that having gained the attention of the addresses over the particular matter in question, that the situation somehow be improved. Ignoring this Ukrainian KGB agents still repeat that “We still do not know where Badzyo would have sent his work”.

One: serving officers do not have the right to use their own conclusions as evidence in a court case, especially as my husband's behaviour to date has not provided any reason for such action to be taken.

Two: it is time to draw the conclusion that to reduce to a minimum the effect of the unpleasant and obviously unflattering appeals of Soviet citizens to foreign governments and activists, international organisations and communities over matters that could be decided by the organs of our government — it is necessary to remove the underlying cause of this phenomenon, but don't persecute people for the consequences and the hypothetical results of such appeals. Give this country the opportunity to freely and openly discuss government and social problems at the highest levels. At least give the opportunity — as the first step on this path — for us to freely appeal to our government and to receive executive replies, but without the intermediary aid of the KGB and its automatic repressive sanction.

Above all, put your publically announced pre-election programme into practice. Participation of each Soviet citizen in the affairs of state cannot surely mean the mere approval of these matters. Each person should contribute his own personal idea — either partially or completely different from those already approved — otherwise there

will not be anything to take into account when both large and small decisions are taken.

In his research work, Yuriy Badzjo introduced a sound, scientific discussion on idealism and the practical conditions of the life of the Ukrainian nation in the complex of the USSR. Being a conscientious socialist he used the socialist-philosophical logic of Marxism to analyze the main periods of the development of communist theories and the practical realisation of socialism. He gave a critique of the national politics of the CPSU and its party and ideological absolutism. He critically opposed any dogmatism, the enforcement of any generally compulsory doctrines from above on society, he considered that, not even the most eminent authority from the past, had the right to dominate and burden man's thoughts; he considered that only the elemental progression of life, in which the dialectical process of thesis and anti-thesis freely develops, could safe-guard the democratic and humane character of society.

You could have agreed or disagreed with his analysis and conclusions. You could have criticised or totally rejected them. But how could you, having announced the responsibility of every, and I repeat every Soviet citizen to participate in the affairs of state, in the same breath and on behalf of that same government, pronounce a man a state criminal, a man who merely reflected about these matters on paper? Thus the politics of the communist party of the Soviet Union, which proclaimed itself to be the guiding power of Soviet society, cannot by the same logic, be an internal party matter — it has become a "national matter" and should be subject to the members of society for their investigation — as should all other aspects of social life.

"There are people to think about these things. You see, the party doesn't know that to do, but Badzjo does", — agent of the Ukrainian KGB mockingly told me after being dismissed from work on the 4th February 1979. This is what your pre-election programme is turning into in practice — and through the words and actions of those who are meant to "secure" us the right of participating in state matters . . .

All my life, having begun my political education in my cradle, I heard, read, that the election candidates in the capitalist world were merely soap bubbles that burst as soon as the deceived electors had given them their votes. This is what I imagined: they fluttered above people's heads — brightly coloured and attractive — but were in fact spurious air bubbles . . . How can I now believe all your declarations and proclamations on both internal and external policies of the CPSU and its peace-loving democratic aspirations? Maybe they are all the same price?

As Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, I ask you to acquaint all the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet with the full text of Yuriy V. Badzjo's "Right to Live"; to read it yourself and give it the merit it deserves. Do this as an active

member of the current government and as a civilised human being. Please act in accordance with your pre-election statement when considering Yuriy V. Badzyo's case.

Sv. Kyrychenko-Badzyo,
Kyiv-150,
Chervonoarmiyska 93, kv. 16.

As I finished my letter, I happened on an interpretation of article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR in "The Primary Code of the Ukrainian SSR. A scientific-practical Commentary" (1978, p. 218). From the section concerning the imprisonment and sentencing of Soviet people who "influence individual citizens and try to undermine their faith in the politics of the CPSU and the Soviet government", it transpires that it is "faith in the politics" — not an objective interpretation, not a scientific analysis, not a critical thought process and thus a valid evaluation of those policies — but faith that should be the extent of the "political consciousness" of Soviet people. The politics of the CPSU demand the same blind faith that God demands from his flock.

Only one question remains to be asked: "What century are we in now?"

MONITORING GROUP IN CAMPS

According to Lithuanian sources a Helsinki Monitoring Group has been set up in the Mordovian prison camps.

The Ukrainians in this group include Lev Lukyanenko, Oleksa Tykhy and Bohdan Rebryk.

POET ARRESTED

The Ukrainian poet and activist, Mykola Horbal, was arrested in on October 23.

Horbal was released from five years imprisonment plus two years exile in 1977 for writing a poem called *Duma*. He has been an active member of the Ukrainian opposition in Kyiv.

THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

Below we print in translation the first part of a major work dealing with Ukrainian culture. The text was recently smuggled out of the Soviet Union. The author is a political prisoner. His identity is known but he has asked to remain anonymous.

The work has been acclaimed as one of the best in modern times to tackle the theme of Ukrainian culture. The omissions in the text are due to difficulty in transcribing the original text which was handwritten.

Introduction

Last year the society "Ukraina" published a brochure by I. Dzyuba entitled "The Frontiers of a Crystal". The work, average among hundreds of works with an analogous theme, can be distinguished because of Dzyuba's style of writing, his linguistic culture and because of two or three ideas that appear on the last few pages of the work, and in which at least the shadow of the former Dzyuba comes to life. The publication does not excel as a criticism, not only because "The Frontiers of a Crystal" is an ordinary propagandistic "mayfly", a super-official trumpet, an attempt to present a "grandiose" picture of the "development" and "blossoming" of Ukrainian culture — "an organic and inseparable constituent element of Soviet culture" (I. Dzyuba) — this, while it is undergoing a major offensive launched by a totalitarian imperial regime, aimed in particular against Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian nation as a whole with the sole intention of draining its life-blood to result in its total engulfment, — but also because it was specifically prepared for readership abroad and as a bellicose assault against their people and ideas, and thus against the linguistic activity of the Ukrainian emigration and its most important representatives — that section of the Ukrainian population, which for completely comprehensible reasons played a major role in the materialisation of that sacred national concept: sovereignty and statehood. For these reasons the book — a testimony to the achievements of the KGB — was personally delivered by its true editors to some Ukrainian political prisoners, who for this activity are also settled beyond the frontiers of Ukraine — in Russian concentration camps.

Also, and obviously most importantly, the publication was not publically acclaimed because its author was, in the distant past, one of the most active members of the opposition. He was arrested in 1972 as one of the leaders and ideologues of the movement, and while in a KGB prison, he renounced his views, his activities, his earlier works, and in particular he renounced his most popular work "Internationalism or Russification?". Now, he merely

"earns" his trust. I. Dzyuba's "extraordinary transformation" is now an everyday occurrence in our community. Indeed similar events have rarely occurred on the whole of Ukraine's social horizon, and among people of Dzyuba's calibre and level, it is simply exceptional. For this reason, the devotion, dedication, uncompromising idealism shown by such social activists as A. Horska, O. Berdnyk, M. Horyn, I. Svitlychny, Ye. Sverstiuk, V. Chornovil, L. Lukyanenko, M. Rudenko and many others — with whom Dzyuba stood as a companion in arms until recently — have today become the symbol of the determination of Ukrainians, the measure of state wisdom and the bearers and creators of national values.

Without directly referring to the phenomenon of Dzyuba, we shall simply add that Dzyuba as a product of communist society and as a typical representative of its morals clearly demonstrates the schizophrenia that it produces in an individual and the psychology of terror which results in a consistent devaluation of words, and which culminates in the prostitution of deeds. At the beginning of the 1960's Dzyuba was carried to the crest of the turbulent wave of the Ukrainian renaissance and became one of the most important bearers of our rebirth.

However, under the pressure of repressions he was confronted with an alternative: either to remain in position with the fighters against the Ukrainiophobic politics conducted in Ukraine and be sentenced, and thus corroborate Moscow's colonial politics, the mass genocide of Ukrainians, and through self-sacrifice, broaden the scope of the national-liberation process; or, to reject and renounce his principles and hire himself to the services of our colonisers. Dzyuba opted for the second alternative. This was not because his views had changed or because of a "sincere belief" in the "blossoming of Ukrainian culture", but because of his pusillanimity, his tragic indifference to those important processes that were taking place and growing in Ukraine and because of his underestimation of his role in them. He had been convinced of his talent as a literary critic by excessively "pliant" advisors and "admirers" — people who had consciously committed a similar error, and who, perhaps unintentionally, were trying to gain the "optimum" variant from the situation, "attempting to obtain the best from the present, past and future" for themselves at a time when the objective and independent study of the history of the struggle and the history of Ukrainian culture "blossoms side by side with other cultures". It seems that they are trying to say: "I am not the only deviator. There are more of us and not only us average men, but there is Tychyna in poetry, Dzyuba in criticism".

However, the different types of behaviour manifested by Ukrainian cultural workers as a consequence of psychological terror shall be discussed at a later stage. We shall only mention that having consciously raised and linked the questions of culture, spiritual, historical, psychological, legal, political, material and economic values and national characteristics, we are in the main dealing with political concepts, or to use Dzyuba's words: "The frontiers of culture". In using these concepts as a set complex meanings, let us not imagine that we are using precise terms, formulas or definitions, or that we are dealing with the full extent of the questions raised. The material

presented, given the conditions facing its authors, is not particularly deeply researched nor does it consider the questions it has raised in their entirety, nor does it present any solutions to the problems. It is a reaction to Dzyuba's book "On the Frontiers of a Crystal" — a book assigned and virtually written by the KGB. It is also the reactions of its readers about the situation our nation is in, the true state of her culture and also several constructive ideas for possible directions that the opposition movement could take, and its perspectives. The material presented here would not have seen the light in this imperfect and incomplete state were it not for the dire necessity of exposing, at least partially, the verbal screen of demagoguery that conceals one of the greatest crimes of all centuries and nations: the destruction of ill-fated nations and the annihilation of their culture.

We, to a certain extent have consciously not attempted to specify or elaborate any detailed descriptions of the questions raised and their many nuances that would allow a deeper analysis of the problems. This is the task of those who are truly deeply troubled by the position of our nation and its culture and who study or work independently for the Ukrainian community. These observations are directed at Ukrainian youth, and it is to the youth of Ukraine that we dedicate them, who must should know the truth, and most vitally, should be devoted to the Ukrainian nation, but who under the control of schools, universities are disinformed and who live under the constant pressure of the bureaucratic machine and its propagandistic mass information reproduced in transatlantic television, the cinema, the theatre. In such conditions, intended to produce total deception, it is not always possible to obtain objective knowledge about our history, national values, the protracted and powerful aspirations of Ukraine for her sovereignty and statehood.

National and World Culture

Culture is an aggregate of ideals and symbols, norms and principles, achievements and values, the organisation and methods of human activity in the spiritual, material, creative and heraldisic spheres that have been assimilated by a nation (or mankind) throughout its whole history. Culture, as a multifaceted totality of all these concepts in their causal and consequential appearance, as an aggregate of imperatives, as an organic need of man becomes a reality that is determined and controlled by the aspirations of man's soul, his biological development, the individual and general nature of the artist, by social factors and conditions, by the means of existence of both the creative individual and the nation to which he belongs.

The incessant flow of life gives culture its continual progress, its variations and the transformation of its forms, methods and means. Culture continually evolves and develops, and is enriched by the new values brought by each

successive generation of its community. It unites and embraces language, religion, art and science, the means of social existence and the existing level of production. Culture, through this development and evolution simultaneously appeals to its past generations, to their deep spiritual, biological and historic origins, their sources and traditions. The harmony between the past and present is the guarantee of the opportunity and right of a nation to take full advantage of its national cultural achievements. Their free and incomplete synthesis, their spiritual unity and organically reciprocal traditions are the precondition and guarantee for the natural, independent and free development of national cultures, and the basic of their development and evolution. This is also the basis that makes it possible for a national culture to make a worthy contribution to the culture of all mankind.

World culture is an aggregate of national cultures, which are integrated through a system of functioning organisations and which are united through a common circulatory system, through the assimilation of past cultural achievements, mutual influences and exchanges, and the mutual historic rivalry of opposing nations, and in the present culture is united by analogical processes. The culture of mankind is an aggregate of national cultures united into a single system, in which the universal nature of mankind of different nationalities has been harmoniously interwoven into the wide breadth of general human values with their multi-faceted manifestations. Global unity does not preclude, but rather anticipates the continual rivalry of cultures which stimulates the individuality of national characteristics because of the inherent need of each organism to verify its uniqueness. Without this rivalry and without continual mutual exchange the progress of both national and world culture is impossible. Thus we affirm the organic necessity for freedom, the right of an independent life, the right of the free evolution of each national culture and the right of national cultures to compete against each other as a precondition for the development and progress of both national and world cultures. This, because world culture can only develop through the concomitant development of national cultures. Indeed, there is no such thing as an abstract world culture: world culture is composed of thousands of national cultures, and the richer these are, and the more original they are, then the richer and more original world culture. For this reason the troubadours of international culture in their attempt to obliterate and merge national cultures are the gravediggers of world culture. Also the conflicts of chauvinist mutation result in the aggressive aspirations of one nation and culture against others.

Co-existence of Nations and their Cultures

The inter-relations of nations and their cultures presents a complex of problems and contradictions, religions and relations. Despite this the culture of mankind is an aggregate of co-existing national organisms — of independent organisms with a natural historical progress of development and with a

natural and legal guarantee of the right of life of each nation and national culture, whose independence is stipulated through the very use of the term nation, its spirit and traditions, its psychology and biological factors, its geographic regions and climate, its protracted historical existence, the coefficient of the creative potentials of its community and the realisation of these factors, which are dependent on the size of the coefficient and the historical fate of the nation.

Independently of these factors, of the size of the nation, its statehood, of its historical, political and economic factors, of the involvement and influence of the consolidating processes of world evolution, each national culture — a complex set of concepts relating to other national cultures — can either be on a higher or lower plane of development. As an organic whole and as an aggregate product of a community, culture encompasses different strata of society, regional differences that have been assimilated by the national language and by the bodies concerned with cultural achievements. It evolves through its own development and through that of world culture, through the process of international relations and through the free exchange of ideas and values. It is from this that the genii of nations develop their own specific cultural characteristics while simultaneously assimilating the achievements of all mankind. Also this synthesis of complex and multiple interwoven concepts forms part of the treasure-house of world values. Because of the complexity of these processes and because of the natural uniqueness of each nation, the historical rivalry of nations and the communality of their achievements it is not possible to precisely measure the contribution of each nation to world culture. However, the effect of these contributions is quite obvious, and without a doubt, the more developed a national culture the greater its contribution to world culture, and the more independent organisms that constitute mankind, then the more varied, the more original, the more developed and the higher world culture. The harmony between national and world culture is the guarantee of the right of the full development of national and world cultures and their free and incomplete synthesis, their total unity and the mutual co-existence of their traditions is the precondition and guarantee for the natural evolution of national culture and the foundation for its development and progress.

Different regions that evolved as a result of geographic, racial and biological factors, through their common inheritance of their ancient cultures, through the differences and similarities of the nation's psychology and soul — determined by national frontiers, and also a result of protracted historical relations, migrations and mutual exchanges, can have national cultures that are more or less related to each other, they can be affected most deeply by their own internal achievements or by the more pronounced influences of another culture. However, they all belong to certain civilisations, cultural regions or cultural branches (European), The Eastern, Slavic, Anglo-Saxon, Roman, Latin American and so on). And even within the boundaries of

these regions the existence of a nation with a historic community with a functioning culture, the consolidating process of the mechanism of relations bore and bears a complex, competitive and even a hostile character. The history of mankind — as an evolutionary process and as the development of general human values — both through international relations and the mutual exchange of values and national achievements, and the assimilation of foreign values — has experienced invasions, captivity, plunder, genocide. Having brought mankind countless sufferings and causing world culture to suffer irretrievable losses, the politics of aggression, occupation and colonisation, and “the compulsory mergence of nations regardless of the practical method of its realisation and political ideals”, the unification of national cultures and their compulsory assimilation is qualified by both natural and international law as a crime against humanity.

The Rights of the Captive Nations

This is why captive nations have the right to defend the lives of social individuals and have the right to fight for the independence and sovereignty of their nations with the available optimum means, both on their own territory and in the liberation process of the national diaspora, regardless of country of residence, views, party affiliations, the means and methods of the struggle (this is an internal-national question and can only be resolved by a national-liberation forum). A captive nation also has the right of the aid and solidarity of the world community and the active defence of the UN.

This is why each national culture — “the pride of the nation and its priceless historical heritage” (I. Dzyuba — “The Frontiers of a Crystal”) — in the context of world culture should not be coerced, pressurised, unified and thus destroyed, but it should be free, free to contribute as a sovereign nation, independent from other nations and a complete individual. It is only as such individual that a national culture can play its role within world culture.

Thus to treat a national culture as a part of another national culture is to degrade it. Such treatment can only result in discrimination and in the deprivation of the right to independent development. If the author of “The Frontiers of a Crystal” had this in mind, if his book was intended to present the true state of Ukrainian culture, if it was to confirm and supplement his previous objective research presented in “Internationalism or Russification?”, then we should agree with the author. The Ukrainian nation and its culture within the boundaries of the empire are placed into a subordinate position, they are discriminated against, and as a result of political assimilation, mass transigrations (the deportation of the Ukrainian population from the boundaries of Ukraine) the Ukrainian nation and her culture find themselves on the frontiers of decay. However, the author, in repeating the statements of the apologists of chauvinism and disciples of the imperial politics of

Moscow towards Ukraine and its "development", attempts to refute reality, and by trying to prove that this is the so-called Ukrainian culture . . . that is developing and which is "an organic and integral part of Soviet culture" he betrays the truth.

Such a unitary affirmation in respect of a separate Ukrainian culture and of the cultures of the captive nations, which have clearly pronounced and obviously differences, which have different historical traditions and different aspirations for the independent and sovereignty functioning of their cultures, and different interests, justifies their compulsory maintenance within the confines of one state, with a uniform, compulsory ideology — which controls all the nations and their means of existence, but which is incompatible with their natures, spirits and religions. While such an affirmation is a conscious and hypocritical mutilation of the true state of all national cultures, and of the Ukrainian in particular, it also acts as a mediator for the ruling nation both in the sphere of international relations and in the sphere of culture, and it also maintains the totalitarian imperial-chauvinistic character of the state

Although the cultures of social groups existing within the regional branches of a national culture are an organic and indivisible part of national culture, despite the fact that, in principle, they are separate due to their origins, spirit and national cultural traditions. As an integral part of a national culture — on "the frontiers of a crystal", it can be seen that such cultures were once independent, but have now been fully assimilated by the nation and as a result of inauspicious historical conditions, have fallen into decay and dissolved into another culture. As such they are included into the category of unfunctioning cultures, but were absorbed and now constitute the branches and elements of a living culture. With certain reservations, the whole culture of nation can be degraded to "the frontiers of a cult", a phase, which in the distant future our Ukrainian culture could find itself in given the present rate of assimilation.

A fundamental error — committed through ignorance — affirmed that the Ukrainian national culture must become an organic and indivisible part of Russian culture. It cannot be denied that Ukrainian and Russian culture share certain influences and characteristics, which were consolidated during the three centuries of enslavement suffered by Ukraine. But despite the differences, the cultures of these two nations, their origins and histories, their national psychologies and spirits, their anthropologies and ethnographies, their customary traditions, their traditional mutual hostility and the difference between their national interests were united in the middle ages and unification in the works of our best known political activists and ideologists, scholars and writers (whose works are now prohibited). This is the reality. It was and is irrefutable proof and indisputable testimony that these two nations are completely different and totally incompatible. And these three centuries

of a policy of consistently violating agreements, of uncertainty, of prohibitions, of genocide, of the theft and assimilation of our national relics and cultural values, of pogroms, mass annihilations and migrations — begun by Peter I and continued through to the present, including by Stalin who sacrificed the lives of 10 million Ukrainians — is ample testimony proving that the relations between these two nations bore. In perspective, these relations have the potential of transforming and becoming normal. And as soon as Ukraine leaves the folds of the empire, she must establish equal diplomatic relations between two sovereign nations, all Ukrainian ethnic lands that were partitioned must be repatriated (Kuban, Kurshchyna, Voronizhya, Bilohorschyna and so on). Ukraine must have indivisible territorial unity which shall be controlled by the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian state, all Ukrainians must be repatriated as must all the national values relics stolen through the course of three centuries and removed to Russia's capital and towns. However, this is a question for the future. Today our national culture — in both a legal and literal sense — finds itself colonised and discriminated (which the author of the book shamefully admits in the last pages of his book). Although it is weakened, it is unbreakable and cannot be destroyed. It is a functioning culture of a captive nation and community that lives, fights and strives to realise its national aspirations — sovereignty, statehood, and freedom.

World history does not know of such a precedent where an empire has united its many nations into a single state, where an empire has united tens of occupied nations all antagonistic towards their occupier and where culture is intended to function as a single, united harmonious organism of all nations. In such a state the ruling nation has the dominating (although not necessarily the highest) culture and practises cultural imperialism in various forms. It is a dominant expansionist force and completely subordinates and controls the lives of its captives. The main aim of the occupier is to sterilise the individual characteristics and national spirits of these cultures and to replace them with its own spiritual values, ideas and psychology.

The "theoretical" foundations and the introduction of economic and cultural exploitation, and in particular the engulfment of both human resources, their creative potential and their labour power (used as cannon fodder during the years of active external expansion) and also the politics of assimilation and various forms of liquidation (with consistent national immunisation particularly implemented during periods of active opposition — even unarmed — is frequently physical and massive) is an attempt to unify the cultures of the captive nations and to completely engulf them. Fundamentally these are the strategic principles intended to fulfill the political ambitions of the empire, they are methods of survival, power and expansion — and were inherited from the czarist administration and adapted to needs of the time. After the overthrow of czarism in 1917 only the form of demagoguery and propaganda changed while the strategic aims remained unchanged. Thus the fundamental ambitions of the czarist empire — both in external

and internal politics — were inherited in full by the present regime. Today's rulers of the empire and its ideologists in seeking justification for their internal politics are not ashamed of directly and openly of relying on history, of leading on its authority and on the despotism of the legal state structure of the past epoch, on czarist imperial ambitions: "our conditions, our traditions" etc. etc. The appearances of ideologues, "scholarly literature", historic essays, publications, periodicals, artistic work bear a similar tone as of czarist days, but are more candid and abundant in their terminology.

(Let us note while czarist Russia was a prison of nations, it had a relatively moderate regime, but Bolshevik Russia transformed this prison of nations into a regime that condemns everyone to death within a framework of a perfectly planned, organised plan. There is no other similar mechanism in the state machine — a concentration camp of ethnocide. In Russia the dominating postulates were always those of a super-state, pan-Slavism, the expansionist chauvinism of a ruling group operating against a background of passivity, obsequiousness, the excessive humbleness and weakness of the community — where it is hoped, no opposition will be able to form. But the regime was actively supported during the war years or when national-liberation movements were completely suppressed. Despite this, a degree of freedom still existed and the pressure exerted over the colonial nations was not all-pervasive. But having almost succeeded in destroying the roots of the sown seeds of democracy and because of the tolerance developed through almost three centuries of relations with Europe, after the ruling nation became a total chauvinist — community thought and free expression were totally suppressed while simultaneously, while simultaneously, an attempt was made to completely deceive the peoples with "heated" communist ideology, which in essence, provides an abundant field for the development of a totalitarian regime. The above enumerated tendencies have developed into a meglomania that permits any abuses of power, that allows total dictatorship and terror, and which was transformed into a desire for world hegemony which constitutes the crime of all epochs and the crime against all nations and which is committed within the boundaries of the empire and which is intent on destroying all nations. Communist demagoguery is a myth intended to camouflage the so-called unity of interests and the blossoming of national cultures, the harmony and friendship with the hegemonist-thief. Communist ideology and in particular, its practice, is a disease-ridden negative mutation controlling a national organism that has been deprived of its control over its ethnic and normal development, and has totally lost control over its politics. Communism, as it developed because pathological, particularly aggressive, despotic and chauvinistic.

To be continued.

Translated from the Ukrainian
by *Lessia Dyakivska*

Vitaly LECHTER

THE STATE OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN THE USSR

The subject of my report is the state of Ukrainian Culture in the USSR. Only yesterday I was among those who work for Ukrainian Culture in Ukraine. My report is likely to be somewhat emotional since I was an eyewitness to the events which I shall be referring to. My report may also be quite unusual. It is a confession... the confession of a young Ukrainian. I am still very young, I was born after the Second World War and grew up together with the 'Shestydesiatnyky' (Poets of the Sixties). I chose a difficult profession, that of Ukrainian philologist, teacher and journalist. I spent my best years as a student at the University of Chernivtsi and then as a village schoolmaster in Bukovyna.*

People often ask me why I left Ukraine. Some think I was prompted by financial reasons. That is not true. The black bread of Ukraine is sweeter to my lips than the West's oranges. It is perfectly clear to me that in the West I will be more useful to my homeland Ukraine. Every article I write is a dart aimed at the Kremlin in Moscow. Moscow is afraid of our emigre press and tries to prevent our newspapers from being read in Ukraine. I have been informed that my articles are read there. I had to emigrate for this to be possible.

I went to an ordinary soviet school, studied the works of Tychnya, Ryl's'kyi, Honchar and Stel'makh, believing this to be real Ukrainian literature. At the time I did not have an opportunity to read the works of V. Symonenko, L. Kostenko, V. Stus and other Ukrainian patriots. I was still not aware of the danger threatening Ukrainian culture. I began to realise in 1965. At the time I had just registered at the University of Chernivtsi in the Faculty of Philology, Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature. That year, after the so-called Krushchev thaw, marked the beginning of repressions against Ukrainian cultural workers. It was then that we students opened our blind eyes. Every evening we sat by our radios and listened to broadcasts by *Radio Svoboda* and *Voice of America*. The information awoke in us both concern for the fate of those who had been arrested and at the same time pride in our freedom-loving people. Our lulled national consciousness was revived.

That year news of the incident at the Kyiv Machine Tool Works club spread all over Ukraine. It was widely discussed by students at our University and changed me into an anti-communist. 1965 was the year of my rebirth. May I recall the incident.

On March 29th 1965 a Ukrainian poetry evening was due to take place at the Kyiv Machine Tool Works club on Brest Litovsk Avenue. The poster advertising the evening hung for several days. On Sunday March 29th people began to arrive for the evening. However, the

*) This article was published for the first time in "Vyzvolny Shlach", London, England, Vol. 9-10, 1979.

club was closed and the poster had been torn down. As it turned out before the evening began Lidia Brahins'ka was advised that it had been banned because the programme had not been agreed with the party district committee, and endorsed by it.

The people who had gathered outside the club in large groups were angry. Someone suggested that the evening should be held in the open air in a nearby park. Everyone spontaneously made for the Lenin Komsomol Park. The poets began to read their works. Vasyl Symonenko's poems were read. Hlasyrin, head of the factory committee was also there. When the poets began to read he climbed onto the stage and began to remonstrate, dispersing the audience and shouting: "Go away from here! Comrades don't listen to them, they're Ukrainian nationalists, banderites! Why do they read in the banderite language? Tell me what they're saying!"

200-250 people attended the evening in the park. There were factory workers, young specialists, Ukrainian intellectuals and young people from the region. The organisers of the works club evening were engineers, Sviatoslav Fedoriv and Oleksander Mykolaichuk. For the latter the evening came to a tragic end. Mykolaichuk, aware that he was responsible for the evening, tried to calm Glazyrin down and became overexcited. That night Mykolaichuk suffered a severe heart attack. Gathering his strength he knocked on his neighbours' wall. They quickly called for an ambulance which arrived two hours later when Mykolaichuk was dead. A Ukrainian patriot from Vinnytsia and lover of Ukrainian songs and poetry, he was buried at the Baikovy cemetery; a gravestone bought by the public was laid on his grave. Let us honour O. Mykolaichuk's memory by naming one of the ADUK departments after him, and the other after the Ukrainian patriot and artist Alla Hors'ka, the 15th anniversary of whose death falls this year.

It is no secret that during the last few years in Ukraine more and more people, in particular the youth, students, scientists and often even workers are coming to the conclusion that the nationalities policy in Ukraine is unsatisfactory, that Ukraine's national and political situation does not tally with its formal constitutional position as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and that the state of Ukrainian culture and language gives rise to great concern. This ever-growing circle of people expresses concern openly, in public and as a matter of principle. They were answered with terror, moral then physical. Hundreds of people were punished by dismissal from work, expulsion from institutes and by party and komsomol sanctions for the slightest participation in any action now regarded as nationalist. Ivan Dzyuba gave a comprehensive account of the 1965 terror campaign in *Internationalism or Russification*. A few examples of the terror: Mykola Kholodnyi, young poet and 5th year student was expelled from university for a speech discussing A. Ishchuk's novel *Verbovchane*. Mykhailyna Kotsiubyn'ska niece of the Ukrainian

classic Mykhailo Kotsiubyn'skyi, was expelled from the Institute of Literature at the AN (Academy of Sciences) USSR. Rita Dovhan', co-editor of the newspaper *Druh Chytacha* and organiser of poetry evenings was sacked. It must be stressed that almost every young poets' evening during 1963-65 was banned. There is an official decree stating that no evening of Ukrainian poetry can take place without permission from the district party committee. Furthermore, members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union must have the permission of the Union to attend. At the same time the muscovite authorities impudently declared that "Art belongs to the people".

It is impossible to state all the facts about the persecution of Ukrainian culture at that time. I can only mention the more striking general characteristics of the terror campaign:

- the closing down of the creative youth Club in Kyiv.
- the incident at the evening commemorating Lesia Ukrainka in the Central Park of culture and recreation on July 31st 1963.
- the smashing of the Shevchenko vitrage at Kyiv University (March 1964) and the subsequent persecution of the young painters who created it.
- the ban on gathering round the Shevchenko Monument in Kyiv on June 22nd 1964 and 1965.
- the ban imposed by the KGB on the discussion of problems concerning the state of Ukrainian culture, planned by Kyiv University students on April 27th 1965.

It was then that the first arrests were made though only short-term. You can arrest tens and hundreds of people, nevertheless more and more people will continue to express their concern for the fate of Ukrainian culture. This in fact was only the beginning of the terror in Ukraine. The real terror began in 1972.

As a result of the terror Ukrainian culture not only did not take its rightful place laid down by law as the leading culture but was not even on the same footing as Russian culture; it took second place like a pale supplement. The majority of the working class, scientists, technicians, engineers and the urban population in general are outside the scope of Ukrainian culture which has been completely substituted in their lives by Russian culture. This is attested to by the actual state of Ukrainian literature, press, schools and the theatre. It is common knowledge that only a tiny percentage of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is interested in Ukrainian culture, which is not without consequence. It results in the continuous exodus of Ukrainians from Ukrainian culture, and in financial and spiritual loss due to reduced readership. It is therefore not surprising that an increasing number of literary novices are joining the ranks of Russian literature.

The story does not end here. What is most moving is the fact that the difficult circumstances in which Ukrainian culture exists also affect the patriots who preserve it. However, instead of help, obstacles are always put in their path. Brilliant talents and the search for

innovation are not only left unsupported but are even subjected to severe muscovite censorship. We need only recall the conflict between the muscovite censors and the young Ukrainian poets who were hypocritically accused of formalism, and that a number of very talented poets, Lina Kostenko, Vasyl' Stus, Mykola Kholodnyi and Ihor Kalynets could not publish their works for years. Meanwhile the anthology of young Ukrainian poets printed in Czechoslovakia included the works of poets which had never been printed in Ukraine. Even the communist writer Yuriy Smolych could not publish his memoirs of literary life during the 1920's.

Mykola Kholodnyi in his statement to the Secretary of the CC CPSU, Ovcharenko, and the Chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, Honchar, on October 26th 1970 (*Ukrainian Herald* no. 6) describes the persecution of a large group of writers whose works never reach the public:

"A publishing ban has been imposed on a whole group of young outstanding Ukrainian poets of public acclaim. Consequently, *Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk* has shelved the planned publication of books by Mykola Vorobyev and Viktor Kordun although their works have been published frequently in newspapers and almanacs. The *Veselka* publishing house automatically stopped the printing of a collection of poems by M. Vorobyev. The same happened to a collection by Vasyl Holoborod'ko (*Labirynt*) a unique poet quoted in numerous articles in the Republic and All Union press. The entire edition of Holoborod'ko's collection *Letiuche Vikontse* published by *Molod'* has been lying on the printers' shelves in Bila Tserkva for several years. Mykhailo Skoryk's poems were suddenly excluded from *Vitryla*, printed by *Molod'*, who also did not print the planned collections of Viktor Mohyl'nyi and Mykola Klochok well-known to readers of *Dnipro* and *Vitchyzna*. The talented poet Mykola Rachuk was told by *Molod'* that it "could not afford to print a review" of his work and returned the manuscript. *Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk* has for years neglected or returned without explanation the manuscripts of the Kyiv poets Boris Mozolev'skyi and Volodymyr Sirenko. *Maiak* publishers have been postponing publication of a book by the Odessa writer Oleksa Reznikov for ten years. For years the following writers have been waiting to be published; Jaroslav Stupak — from Kyiv, a prose writer; Stanislav Tsetlan from Donbas, prose writer; Hryhoryi Chubai from Lviv, a poet; Mykhailo and Hryhoryi Tymenko, and others".

Kholodnyi finishes his statement by drawing attention to the fact that for five years the Writers' Union has not discussed the works of young writers.

The state of the Ukrainian theatre is almost catastrophic. The Kyiv Ivan Franko Academy Theatre is in a permanent state of mediocrity while its talented young director Les' Taniuk was not given work

until he left Ukraine. At the moment he is working in Moscow where he receives offers from the best Moscow theatres. Plays directed by him are very popular. However much the youth interested in theatre tried to form even an independent experimental theatre in Darnytsia, a large industrial suburb of Kyiv where the 100,000 inhabitants do not have a theatre, they were not given permission. In the Chernivtsi theatre the repertoire has been the same for ten years. Of the Ukrainian classics, Ol'ha Kobylans'ka's play *Zemlya* is the only one performed. Meanwhile the Russian repertoire has increased. The director Taras Syliatyn's'kyi in an interview with the magazine *Teatr*; (no. 4 1978) could not quote a single new play in the Ukrainian repertoire though he mentioned a new play *I summon fire on myself* by a certain Matsuhkin, which praises the so-called friendship between the Ukrainian people and their "big brothers".

The young composer Leonid Hrabov's'kyi whom Dmytri Shostakovich regarded as one of the most original and talented young composers, has for many years been unable to perform his innovative works in Ukraine, while they are readily performed by the better orchestras in Moscow and Leningrad. Even his enchanting *Four Ukrainian Songs* which received an award at an All-Union competition and were recorded in Leningrad, have yet to be performed in Ukraine. The young Ukrainian composers Silvestriv and V. Huba are in the same predicament. Ihor Poliukh the talented choirmaster has been repeatedly prevented from forming a national, musical, instrumental and vocal ensemble. After the folklore and ethnographic choirs *Homin* and *Zhaivoronok* were disbanded the composer Leopold Yaschenko was left unemployed.

At the International Film Festival in Mar-del-Plata, Argentina, a Ukrainian film made by the O. Dovzhenko film studio in Kyiv took second place. The film *Shadows of forgotten ancestors* was directed by Paradzhanov. It appears that the "popularity" of Ukraine, a member of the United Nations is so great that Argentinian cinema-goers did not know that this 'sovereign' state or such people existed and shouted "Viva Russia" "Viva Moscu". All that remains is to blush in embarrassment at the fact that even your people's name is unknown and the triumph of our art is accredited to the Russian people. The head of the State Film Committee of the USSR Serhij Ivanov wrote about the festival in *Vechirnyi Kyiv*, missing the bitter irony of fate; the fact that the productions of Ukrainian film studios is censored by Moscow which has very low standards. It is not surprising that the joke is spreading round Ukraine that there are good and bad films in the Dovzhenko studio. Serhij Paradzhanov's film *Shadows of forgotten ancestors* to a certain extent restored the public reputation of the Dovzhenko studio and even brought it international acclaim. However, after the unusual success of the film the director was not allowed to make another film and was later sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on trumped up charges. Serhij Paradzhanov is

free again although he is not allowed to work in a film studio. A well known director of international repute cannot find work in his field. Who will benefit from this?

Jurij Ilchenko's film *A well for the thirsty* was banned. Most experts believe that he would be a tremendous asset to Ukrainian cinematography and could bring it into line with the rest of the world. Other films produced in the Kyiv studio are also threatened. The "screws were tightened" there in 1965. Two film directors, Leonid Osytsia and Rolan Serhienko were stopped from working. They were asked to produce mediocre films. The Odessa film studio produces nothing but propaganda with "true" communist heroes. Last year *Radians'ka Ukraina* printed a lengthy article by Dmytro Levchuk, director of the Dovzhenko studio on the occasion of its 50th Anniversary. He quoted two films which in his view were among the best: *Ivanna* and *How the steel was tempered*. *Ivanna*, script by V. Bilaev, is an out and out propaganda film directed against the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Metropolitan Andriy Sheptyts'kyi. Levchuk calls this one of the best films produced by the studio. Propaganda films are nothing new to the Dovzhenko studio... propaganda is its style. Not surprisingly the films are shown to empty halls. There are talented producers and actors in Ukraine, however, they are not given work in Ukraine. The actor and producer Bondarchuk works in the M. Gorkyi film studio in Moscow.

I would like to say something about Ukrainian Television. There are two television channels in Ukraine: the All Union Station broadcast from Moscow and the Republic Station. The Ukrainian channel is much more interesting than its Moscow counterpart. The best artists in Ukraine perform on television; it also shows Ukrainian theatre. Recently broadcasting time in Ukrainian has fallen drastically. The second channel often transmits broadcasts from Moscow. A great deal of programme time is given to showing the speeches of the "sage" Leonid Illich. Not a day goes by without Ukrainian viewers seeing a speech by the Moscow Fuhrer. There was once a popular joke in Ukraine about the state of Ukrainian television. A worker came home and began to watch television. Brezhnev was speaking on the first channel, so he turned over to channel two where Brezhnev was also speaking. He then decided to watch an educational programme on the third channel, turned over and saw a KGB man on the screen who said "Hey, scum, why do you keep switching over?" So the Ukrainian viewer continues to see how Leonid Brezhnev won the War single-handed, or follows Brezhnev's travels round the world. Sometimes viewers manage to see football on television if Brezhnev's new "conquests" are not being shown.

The Canadian newspaper *Novyi Shliakh* once published an article of mine entitled *Condemned Books*. I would like to return to this subject. While the hitlerites openly burnt books in city squares, the muscovite fascists do this in secret. The complete works of Bunin

have been published in Russia whereas in Ukraine no one has been able to publish Hryhoryi Chuprynka, Yevshan or Pidmohyl'nyi. A. M. Semenko and M. Drai-Khmara are only mentioned in abuse. They conceal and refrain from publishing even Ivan Franko's works, for example "What is progress?" The publicistic works of B. Hrinchenko *Letters from Dnieper Ukraine*, those of I. Nechuy-Levyts'kyi and others, which discuss the question of colonialist oppression in Ukraine and the need for a free Ukraine.

Translation of the best examples of foreign literature into Ukrainian is inadequate. Every cultured nation is duty-bound to read foreign literature. For this reason every cultured nation attaches considerable importance to translation. During the 1920's Ukrainian publishers successfully completed large scale translation projects of complete works and numerous editions of world classics under the supervision of a qualified team of workers and eminent specialists. Today these translations have become such a bibliographic rarity that they are almost impossible to find. New translations are published in such meagre editions that we only have single translations from the world classics: Goethe's *Faust* (M. Lukash), Dante's *Divine Comedy* (P. Karmans'kyi and M. Ryl's'kyi) printed in editions of 10,000 and 25,000 copies. Mykhailo Humeniuk wrote in an article: *From speech to action* (*Literaturna Ukraina* March 24th 1965): "There is a considerable demand for translations of the world classics in Ukraine. Practice has shown that editions of good translations of world literature into Ukrainian, for example, Homer's *Odyssey* (Boris Ten), Dante's *Divine Comedy* (M. Ryl's'kyi and P. Karmans'kyi), or Esop's *Fables* (Jurij Mushak) are quickly sold out. A new publishing house should be set up to print translations of foreign literature into Ukrainian. This would meet the readers' demand". It is common knowledge that no such Ukrainian publisher exists in Ukraine.

The works of distinguished composers, M. Berezovs'kyi, and O. Bortnians'kyi have been forgotten in Ukraine. Solomia Krushel'nytska and Oleksander Myshuha are never spoken of. As for painting and sculpture, young Ukrainians and members of the older generation have not heard of the great Arkhipenko. I myself first became acquainted with his works when I had emigrated.

Insufficient attention is paid to Ukrainian folk art which has long since been universally recognised as a pearl of human culture and beauty. As a result widely known centres of folk art, Opishya, Petrykivka, and Kosiv are in a dilapidated state. Pavlina Tsyvlyk whose work is highly regarded, lacked even the bare necessities for her work. In Ukrainian museum displays preference is given to hack-work. This attitude towards folk art is a crime against Ukraine and Ukrainians.

During the entire soviet period Ukrainian culture has not been able to develop freely and has stagnated. Even during the Krushchev thaw Russification continued to be enforced. However, present

developments in Ukraine cannot be compared to any period prior to 1971. A policy of massive widespread Russification worked out in minute detail, has been launched. No efforts are spared in amputating the nation's memory and destroying its language and culture. One could write volumes on this subject. There is no written law against the Ukrainian language and lip service is given to its equal status. However, if a student were to ask a lecturer to lecture in Ukrainian he would be suspected of Ukrainian nationalism and thrown out of university. The lecturer would justify the use of Russian on the grounds that "Lenin spoke Russian", and continue in Russian, knowing full well why he was so well paid. If he refused to speak in Russian he would lose his job.

Most people accept that double standards are nothing more than the forked tongue of the serpent. Two native languages for one nation is an anomaly. Nevertheless, people in Ukraine have grown so accustomed to this that they do not even notice tendencies to arrest the development of their native language and national thought, the compulsory portion of Russian songs in Ukrainian concerts, Russian words in Ukrainian texts, Russian names in Ukrainian culture and the idea of our complete dependence and inferior status.

It has been established that literary Ukrainian from Shevchenko to Lesia Ukrainka improved considerably and was enriched, developed and refined by extensive additions from dialect and historical sources. In 1929 a new Ukrainian Language Dictionary (the "Kharkiv" dictionary) was compiled by linguists from all over Ukraine. I am proud that fellow Bukovinian R. Smal'-Stots'kyi took an active part in the Kharkiv conference on the dictionary. It was a genuine all Ukrainian dictionary although it had its shortcomings. Unfortunately, the dictionary was destroyed during the 1930's and it became more and more fashionable either to speak and write completely in Russian or Russified Ukrainian. The only kind of development permitted was a rapprochement with Russian. In Ukraine there are linguists, writers, poets and in particular translators, capable of working in the traditions of European culture. What they need most is freedom to work. This has never been possible in Ukraine. Someone has always taken pains to prevent Ukrainians from studying their history (as opposed to Russian history), taking an "unhealthy interest" in primary sources, showing too much love for their language and care for its purity and development. Let it stand like a half-ruined church. Let it stay like that, it's a free country. But don't you dare restore it yourselves and God forbid that you allow people to

The main theme of the XXIV Congress of the CPSU was an increase in the Party's leading role in all spheres of life. Language was a major topic. It might be said that at this level broad measures could be taken to introduce Ukrainian to Ukrainian intermediate and

higher schools and Ukrainian institutes. This did not come about. The leading role of the Party was manifest in the increased surveillance of publishers and magazines in the struggle against "archaisms", the use of rare words and neologisms. In practical terms the XXIV Congress of the CPSU was an authorisation of the struggle against the divergence of Ukrainian from Russian.

The standard is set by the average citizen who has an average knowledge of everyday Ukrainian although he usually speaks Russian because of his far from natural circumstances. If there is a word he does not know then this applies to the whole nation. This is the meaning of the lowest common denominator. Of course, Ukraine has an Institute of Linguists of the AN of the USSR. They should be able to define spoken language, active vocabulary, literary language, the nature of language and its sources in other national treasures. However, the Institute of Linguists and its head Bilodid, have always been the main agents in the destruction of the Ukrainian language. This very Institute is keeping watch against any deviation in development of Ukrainian from the official course. Indeed, the linguistic control of the language of modern authors is minimal since at the moment there are few authors with a good knowledge of Ukrainian.

Nowadays, the language of Lesia Ukrainka and Kotsiubyn's'kyi is a luxury, the pinnacle of the classical period. The better Ukrainian translators aim at the same heights. The translator must "mobilize" and adjust his native tongue to the level of French, German or English. However, this is difficult since Ukrainian is being Russified.

At the end of 1973 the secretary and ideologist of the CPU a well known Ukrainophobe, V. Malanchuk, gave the following lesson to writers at the party general meeting of the Kyiv Branch of the Ukrainian Writers' Union:

"I must, if only briefly, refer to a question which should be of particular concern to the community of writers. I mean the culture of language and linguistic literary skill. There are signs in certain authors' works of an unhealthy tendency, the littering of language with archaic terms, dialect words and completely invented expressions..."

Malanchuk continues:

"In defiance of set norms certain translators have opened the flood gates to all kinds of archaic expressions, Polonisms and Gallicisms".

This lackey unconcerned by the great deluge of Russisms which is actually deforming the Ukrainian language, is more worried about Ukrainian writers who care about the multilateral development of Ukrainian. The Director of the Institute of Literature of the AN USSR M. Shamota specifies:

"In the guise of enriching literary language "lexical glaciers" have been melted, and attempts are being made to eradicate

spoken language from literature, particularly the part which naturally and according to established patterns has become related to Russian. If these tendencies were to prevail the end product would be a dead literary language, Ukrainian Latin. Serious linguists have often pointed to the danger of such tendencies... We still, continued Shamota, come across artificial or archaic words in journals, such as, 'chasopys', 'zaliublenyi', 'vidsotok', 'nabutky', 'pid orudoyu', 's'ohodennya' and 'nevabom'."

Anyone with even a limited knowledge of Ukrainian will know from the above quote why M. Shamota and the institute which he heads exists, to oppose Ukrainian literature and divert writers' attention from the urgent problems of the Ukrainian Nation. Shamota is not alone in his dirty deeds. He has an ally in the creator of the theory of "bilinguality", and director of the Institute of Linguists of the AN USSR, Bilodid, also an 'academician', who publishes his works in Russian, using a Russian surname.

Immediately after the XXIV Congress of the CPSU a series of measures were taken in the plan initiated by the CC CPU to 'fight archaisms' in Ukrainian literature and to bring it closer to spoken Ukrainian. A language terror campaign was launched in 1972 in Ukrainian publishing houses, *Dnipro* in particular, which publishes most translated works. Editors began to discard mercilessly even important terms which in recent years had regained currency in Ukrainian. A whole series of excellent translations was rejected.

Bilodid immediately responded. Taking advantage of the situation they closed the Department of the History of the Ukrainian language and the Department of Dialectology, and in their place created Departments of Russian language and literature. The latter was to be directed by Alla Koval' and average scholar, linguist and reactionary known for her ties with the KGB.

Communist Moscow declared that the Ukrainian language was "inseparable", and "unoriginal", in other words not a language in its own right. Thus Moscow again excluded Ukrainian and Byelorussian from the group of independent slavonic languages. Real Ukrainian is being "unified" in terms of terminology, word construction and orthography with Russian, in order to conceal the difference between them. The slogan for the directives on further development of Ukrainian has been declared as, optimum rapprochement with Russian. "The unity of the Russian language", the chornosotennyi ('Russian chauvinist') concept, is obviously regarded by Soviet Moscow as a "higher linguistic form" and the necessary stage for linguistic fusion! Thus Moscow continues the linguistic policies of the Muscovite Tsar vis a vis the Ukrainian language and all other suppressed languages of former Tsarist Russia. As for Ukrainian in particular the muscovite government has proved to be a conscientious executor of the Decree of 1876.

Unfortunately, there are Ukrainian scholars in the West who would like to see Ukrainian brought closer to its counterpart in Ukraine. Doctor Yaroslav Kharchun, a recent emigre from Ukraine in his article *Ukrainian or emigre Ukrainian* published in an Edmonton journal, declares that we should change our Ukrainian to Ukranian spoken in Ukraine; it would then have a dignified status. Mr Kharchun does not understand that the Ukrainian language was is and will continue to exist! The question is, which orthography will be used: the "Kharkiv" all-Ukrainian version which has shortcomings, or the present completely Russified modern "Kyiv orthography"?

Professor O. Pritsak a specialist in Turkic languages, not Ukrainian, agrees with Mr. Kharchun. If we accept these arguments then our language will be more Russified. We already have a Russified textbook by Professor V. Smyrnov which some of our academics force students to use. May I quote from a letter to the editor of *Homin Ukrainy* from a 4th year student at Windsor University, Halyna Gavadzyn:

"Our enemy will stop at nothing. However, it is a disgrace when some of our emigre 'academics' and other 'troublemakers' collaborate in this work. At this point I must 'laugh through tears', because I have to suffer this mockery and bear this burden as a student on the Ukrainian language course at Windsor University . . . This year our appointed lecturer is a "progressive" lady professor who stubbornly encourages us to love Russian, while ignoring all our remarks and dissatisfaction. With the help of a Ukrainian Professor we were able to do away with the *Ukrainian Prose Manual* by Walter Smirnov, which we were so sincerely given. However, we later learnt that she continues to use this book together with other publications of Bilodid's *Soviet School* in Kyiv . . . She told us to write "pochta" not poshta, which is dialect! Similarly, parasolya has changed to "zontik", vakatsii to "kanikuly", kanapky to "buterbrody", and an iron is now known as an "utiuh", one could go on forever. I daren't mention the letter 'g'. She hasn't yet correctly pronounced my surname which begins with this letter".

Halyna Gavadzyn continues:

We want the course to be Ukrainian, not influenced by Russian theory and propaganda . . . The continued indifference of parties responsible for the above-mentioned courses may I believe force us to stop learning Ukrainian because of the 'demands of the present day' which are forced upon it. "Perets" (A satirical journal) and *Literaturnaya Ukraina* will continue to collect awards".

Honourable Ukrainian scholars, I advise you to heed the words of Halya Gavadzyn, a young Ukrainian patriot.

We should realise that our language is in danger. I therefore propose to form a *Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Language*. We should stand outside the muscovite embassy in protest against forced Russification. We should tell Moscow: "Take your filthy hands off our language!" Moscow is afraid of our demonstrations. Let us remember that our protests will help our people in Ukraine.

Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine are shackled by Soviet censorship. Ukrainian culture must always follow in the footsteps of the party line and obey central government directives.

The "golden age" of the Ukrainian language has long since passed into oblivion followed by its authors. Only their vivid memory still lives on deep in the hearts of the Ukrainian people, and the memory of those who dared openly or secretly to oppose the enslavers of their Homeland and culture. Hope rests in the young generation of Ukrainian cultural workers who have yet to make the final decisive statement!

As for us, Ukrainian cultural workers in the Free World, let us work more enthusiastically for our native culture. Let us not forget that each book or article we write or each new picture we paint, are new darts aimed at the Kremlin. Let us work for our return to a Free Ukraine, for as Stefania Shabatura the long suffering prisoner in Mordovian concentration camps writes in one of her poems:

In this life there will still
be time for fortune —
To come back home and die
on native soil.

*Translated from the Ukrainian
by Volodymyr Slez*

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

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ASPECTS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

As was reported in the last issue of The Ukrainian Review (No. 4, 1979) a symposium on Ukrainian liberation movements was held at Montreal's Concordia University on September 28-30, 1979.

During the symposium 16 specialists presented 22 papers dealing with various aspects of Ukrainian nationalism. We print three of these papers in this issue.

Stefan L. RYCHTYCKYI

OUN IN 1940-41 AND THE ACT OF JUNE 30, 1941

From my own experience in the western world, which for Ukrainians begins on the western frontier of East Germany, I arrived at the conclusion that it is sheer impossibility to expect from the western man a real and profound understanding of the dilemma of the Ukrainian nation, the so-called "Ukrainian problem". The differences between the Eastern European and Western worlds, in political practice, are just too vast. It is hard even to imagine an area of this globe where to this very day the aims of totalitarian imperialism are being practiced with the help of naked, brutal suppression of national and human freedom, dignity of man and even free religious expression. It takes special objectivity of intelligence, profound understanding, and extensive studies of Eastern European history to begin to grasp the idea of what it means to constantly keep fighting for freedom and independence against the total tyranny of the Russian empire, created by Russian princes from the moment of their appearance on the historical stage in the XIII century, through the October Revolution, and until the present.

The special conditions of Northeastern Europe, bordering on the Asian northern tundra, with its primitive, partly Mongolian tribes, created the frame into which the quite unique Russian national character was moulded, a character which discards any importance of the individual human being and cultivates an absolute, tyrannical rule over its subjects, with the inbred aim to conquer — if possible — all our world.

The first aggressive adventure of the Muscovite Principedom was directed of course against the first hurdle on the path of its imperialism — Ukraine, which experienced the real meaning of so-called "neighbourly relations" with Russia in times, when Western Europe did not know, that Russia even existed.

It is no wonder that we, Ukrainians, have a proverb — "we will ally even with the devil — as long as it is against Russia". From

this realization, it logically follows that Ukrainians, who started fighting Russians immediately they came to know them better, in 1659 with the great battle of Konotop, having kept on struggling for almost three centuries, and re-opened the front in 1914, were convinced that they could not count on any outside help, because none was offered, as the policy of the Polish Kingdom, and later Napoleon's and Kaiser Wilhelm's wars against Russia proved.

So, the Ukrainians learned to rely only on their own national forces. This understanding led them after defeat in 1918-1920 to see their need for much better organization and more determination to counter the Russian onslaught, which resulted in the creation of first the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and later the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

World War II, started by Germany's attack on Poland at 4:30 a.m., on Friday, September 1, 1939, raised our hope that the Soviet Union would become involved sooner or later, despite the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty of August 23, 1939. Ukrainian leaders expected the mobilization of millions of Ukrainians, which would place weapons into the hands of Ukrainian masses. Underground activities of OUN aimed toward psychological preparation of Ukrainians to turn their arms against Russia at an opportune moment. Since all legal political parties ceased to exist with the outbreak of war in Poland, and since there were none in central Ukraine, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists became the only Ukrainian organized force left on the political scene in Ukraine, which, after the Polish campaign, fell under total Soviet occupation, and in part of Poland, under German occupation. Ukraine was caught between the Russian hammer and the German anvil, and as it was shown later, neither was any good for them. Historically, Ukrainian hopes were always directed toward the West however, but in the West was powerful Germany, which had just conquered half of Europe, Poland in September 1939, Norway, France, Belgium and Holland in 1940 and represented the only power at that time able to take on the Soviet Union. It became imperative for Ukrainians to come to some understanding with this victorious giant in the West. But Ukrainian experience with German policy was already most adverse. In March 1939, Hitler gave the then pro-German Hungarian Government a green light to invade the small Ukrainian Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine, which proclaimed its independence on March 15, 1939. Ukrainian people protested against this German decision and the OUN sent its members from Western Ukraine over the Carpathian Mountains to help in the defence of Carpatho-Ukraine, contrary to the orders of Colonel Andriy Melnyk, head of emigré-OUN, who opposed any open action against Germany.

The OUN in Ukraine, being more active and decisive, started to encounter difficulties in understanding the policy of the older generation of OUN members, grouped around the person of Colonel Melnyk.

Colonel Evhen Konowalets, before his death, nominated Stepan Bandera as the leader of Ukraine-based OUN, a man of strong character and fighting spirit, and as it happened, the differences between Ukraine-based OUN and the emigré group started to multiply particularly in the matter of policy affecting relations between Ukraine and Germany. The — as we shall call it from now on — emigré-OUN, under Colonel Melnyk, favoured an understanding with the German Government in an attempt to influence Berlin to adopt a liberation policy regarding the captive nations of the Soviet Union in event of war — which was becoming more probable with every passing day.

The Ukraine-based OUN, with Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko, favoured more independent action, especially as it became evident, that the German Government as such, did not have any plans to liberate captive nations, although some of its members, like minister Alfred Rosenberg cultivated ideas of a great Ukrainian nation allied with Germany in holding down the constant Russian danger. It seems that Germany was even more differentiated in its opinions about Eastern European affairs. The Wehrmacht military leader Fieldmarshall Walther von Brauchitsch also favoured some kind of liberation policy, as did Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, Chief of Abwehr (Intelligence). But this "liberation lobby" did not have any chance of success in view of Hitler's "Ubermensch" racism hysteria, supported by the overwhelming majority of top Nazi Party leaders, like Goering, Goebbels, Himmler, Heydrich Sauckel, Borman and by a large portion of disciplined and loyal generals of the top command, like Fieldmarshall Keitel, General Jodl and others.

Confronted with the official silence of Germany and lack of any response to the Ukrainian memorandum sent to the German Government, Ukrainians decided to act. In April 1941, the Second Congress of OUN affirmed Stepan Bandera as its leader and one of his foremost and farreaching decisions was to attempt to restore a free and independent Ukraine without any consideration of German policy aims in Eastern Europe in the forthcoming war. Bandera tried to bring about a reconciliation with Colonel Andriy Melnyk, but with negative results. So, the Ukraine-based OUN started preparations to accomplish the restoration of free and independent Ukraine, using the influence and power of the Organization in Ukraine with practically nothing, except the determination of their disciplined, patriotic members and the support of the Ukrainian people, being confronted by the mightiest power on the European continent.

The Organization trained and educated special (Special Task Forces), altogether over seven thousand strong, with directives to reach every town and county in Ukraine, in order to organize national life, by electing mayors, and restoring free Ukrainian administration of the country after the Soviet retreat.

At that time, the emigré-OUN was continuing to hope for understanding with the German Government and those illusions, together with his personal indecisiveness, cost Colonel Andriy Melnyk the central stage role in the coming developments. The Ukrainian public was generally oriented about German unreliability (remembering Carpatho-Ukraine), though not really convinced that the German Government would start a war without any liberation policy towards the Eastern European captive nations. Already in 1934, Ukrainian journalist Zenon Pelenskyj warned Ukrainians about Germany's real plans, as exemplified in Hitler's bible, "Mein Kampf". Again in 1940, Yaroslav Stetsko (Zenoviy Karbowych), published a serious dissertation on this subject.

Taking into account such divided Ukrainian thinking, it must have been hard to reach some kind of unanimity of decision, which left the Organization (OUN) in a difficult position, having to decide the future course of events for the whole Ukrainian nation. In effect, according to Yaroslav Stetsko, the conflict inside OUN was no tragedy, only a historical development, a conflict of political conceptions. OUN in Ukraine, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, stayed true to the revolutionary concept of Ukrainian liberation policy, on the other hand, OUN under Colonel Melnyk, became the centre of more sedate elements, mostly in migration circles. Historical necessity gave the initiative to Stepan Bandera and hence, everything that happened in Ukraine since, became and remains distinguished with his name (Banderism, Banderists).

Now, preparation and planning may be one thing, execution another. In November, 1940, Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, visited Berlin to find out Germany's future plans and its views concerning Russian aims in the Balkans and Bosphorus. Hitler's "Nein" placed the Kremlin in a state of awareness. On December 18, 1940, Hitler issued his "Barbarossa Plan", Directive No. 21, ordering the German Wehrmacht to be ready to crush the Soviet Union before the end of war against Great Britain. In the early morning hours of Sunday, June 22, 1941, a day before Napoleon crossed the Russian frontier one hundred and forty-nine (149) years earlier, the German armed forces began the onslaught against the Soviet Union. The German invasion was a purely military operation. Nowhere in his speeches did Hitler mention any liberation attempt nor made any promises to captive nations. This was the moment in which Ukrainians, realizing their political potential, went into action, without obtaining Germany's permission and, in fact, without even informing Germany. This was the moment of great historical importance for Ukrainians and, as proven by the fate of Germany's Eastern campaign later — for Germany as well.

The OUN in Ukraine, representing the active elements of Ukrainians, although in contact with the Ukrainian Government in exile

and with Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, felt that it had no time to lose in view of Germany's attitude and had to make the fateful decision alone and in full recognizance of historical responsibility to the Ukrainian people. In the Europe of 1941, the OUN was the first and only resistance force in opposition to powerful Germany, to Hitler and his Nazi Party. The political aspect of this far-reaching historical decision was two-fold and simple. Firstly, an independent Ukraine had to be restored and proclaimed. Secondly, Ukrainians had to know Germany's plans in the Eastern campaign, especially those regarding Ukraine. The military side of this decision was even more dangerous — Ukraine, at that time, had no armed forces able to defend such political decision. In view of such facts, today, we stand amazed at the courage and even audacity of Stepan Bandera and his colleagues, who decided to take on the most powerful military and police machine in the contemporary world.

The cause of this fateful decision was the fact that the OUN had one clear aim — a free and independent Ukraine — and such aim excluded any and all compromises, not favourable to this end. The OUN considered itself responsible only to the Ukrainian people, to history and to its political ideals, rooted in the tradition of the Ukrainian Kingdom and the Ukrainian Cossack Republic of XVI and XVII Centuries. Idealistic men will do everything in the name of their convictions, as has been shown so many times in mankind's history, including the present. For those reasons, in the final days of June, 1941, the OUN decided to proceed with its plans, no matter what might happen, meeting half-way the magnificent enthusiasm of the Ukrainian people, despite the undescribable and unspeakable horrors of discovery of hundreds and thousands of Ukrainians murdered by retreating troops of Russian NKVD in prisons all over Western Ukraine, including its capital Lviv.

The overwhelming wish of the population was to have Ukraine proclaimed free, sovereign and independent, such a wish being nourished by the fresh memory of such a proclamation in Carpatho-Ukraine.

Although the decision to proclaim the restoration of independent Ukraine was made beforehand, it is interesting to note, that the proclamation itself was planned for Kyiv, capital of Ukraine. However, the restive behaviour of German Nazi authorities, including that of Prof. Hans Koch, known friend of Ukrainians, but totally loyal to the German Government, invoked in Yaroslav Stetsko's mind the necessity of proclaiming the restoration of independent Ukraine as soon as possible in Lviv, out of his growing conviction that the Germans would never let the Ukrainians do it in Kyiv. Therefore, deciding on the spot, in very warlike conditions, because the front was quite close at that time, OUN convened the Ukrainian National

Assembly, encompassing all political groups. The Lviv radio station was occupied by armed members of the OUN, as were other government buildings in the city. The Ukrainian military unit, the "Legion Nachtigal" (Nightingale) slightly over a battalion in force, organized with the help of the German army, but without Nazi Party knowledge or sanction, under the command of Roman Shukhevych, later the legendary Commander of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), in hot pursuit of retreating Russians, reached Lviv before the Germans did and became the first Ukrainian military force backing the OUN.

On June 30, just before the act of proclamation itself, Yaroslav Stetsko visited the Metropolitan of Ukrainian Catholic Church, Andrey Sheptytskyj and received his blessings for the planned act. The Ukrainian Patriarch and Cardinal, then Bishop Josyf Slipyj, represented the Ukrainian Catholic Church during all proceedings. In the evening hours of June 30, 1941, the National Assembly enacted the restoration of free, sovereign and independent Ukraine, electing and affirming Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime-Minister of the Ukrainian Coalition Government.

All the relevant documents of the Proclamation of Restoration of Ukrainian National Republic were at once announced over the Lviv radio, where commentator Julian Sawytskyj read them to the world. For this, Julian Sawytskyj was later imprisoned with other prominent Ukrainians in the German Concentration Camp Ebensee, where he was killed by the SS in April, 1945, just hours before the Americans reached the Camp.

Alea iacta sunt — says the Latin proverb. The OUN crossed its Rubicon against German policy in the East. Prof. Hans Koch, who was present at the National Assembly proceedings, in his speech warned Ukrainians against the Proclamation, and after the meeting, said to Yaroslav Stetsko, the new Prime-Minister, "You are playing with fire". Mr. Stetsko responded, that the same, namely playing with fire, was being done by the German Government, remembering World War I and the Napoleonic invasion.

The people of Ukraine accepted the Proclamation, hence known as the Act of June 30, 1941, with overbearing enthusiasm. The newly formed Government issued needed instructions and in about three days time, the administration of Western Ukraine was working smoothly. The Act was read in every town and village and, in many instances, the German army took part in Ukrainian celebrations of freedom, saluting the Ukrainian flag, honouring our National Anthem, and generally considering Ukrainians as their allies in the war against Russia.

It is worth mentioning, that Mr. Stetsko's government was no dictatorship of one group and was not reserved for members of the OUN. Quite to the contrary, in accordance with the aims of OUN,

he tried and succeeded in engaging competent persons of all political groups. Besides, the OUN realized that the fight for Ukraine's freedom was only beginning and, therefore, wanted the greater portion of its membership to remain underground.

On July 1, the official pastoral letter of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyj, containing the blessing of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the restored independent Ukraine, was read to the world over Lviv radio, and later, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, with pastoral letter of Metropolitan Polikarp joined in the endorsement. Thousands of towns and villages sent their congratulations, acclamations and affirmations of the new free Ukrainian Government, even from central Ukraine, where the battle was still raging on. It is a noteworthy fact that Eugene Lyons, in his book, *Our Secret Allies*, New York, 1953, on page 232, said, "The Germans lost the war not in Stalingrad, but in Kyiv, having raised the Swastika instead of the Ukrainian national flag".

As is written by many authors of books and works concerning the Act, of June 30, 1941, the OUN from the first moment introduced a democratic way of political life in Ukraine, convening the National Assembly and putting the proposition of the proclamation of restoration of Ukrainian independence up to the deciding vote of the said Assembly. The first Government of Ukraine was made up as follows: Prime-Minister Yaroslav Stetsko (OUN); Deputy Prime-Minister and the Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare — Prof. M. Pantshyshyn (independent), Dr. Alexander Barvinsky (independent) and Dr. Lev Rebet (OUN); Defence Minister General Vsevolod Petriv (socialist); Minister of Internal Affairs Dr. Volodymyr Lysyj (socialist); Dr. Kost Pankiwskyj (socialist); Prof. Dr. Alexander Maritshak (Ukrainian National Democratic Association — UNDO); Andriy Piasetskyj (National United Front — NFJ), and so on.

Both, Ukrainian Hetman General Pavlo Skoropadsky and President of Ukrainian Government in Exile Andriy Livitskyj supported the new Government of Ukraine. This just shows that, although the OUN provided the initiative, the Act of June 30, 1941 was supported and affirmed by all Ukrainian political parties, with the exception of the segment of emigré-OUN, under the orders of Colonel Andriy Melnyk, which, up to a point, was understandable, in view of their attitude concerning Stefan Bandera.

Another point worth mentioning — on July 5, 1941, the new Ukrainian Government sent a "Declaration of Ukrainian National Government" to all European Governments reached by mail. In this Declaration, Prime-Minister Yaroslav Stetsko took a firm stand against the official German view that communism was a creation of world Jewry and placed the accent where it belonged, on Russia and

Russian imperialism. Needless to say that this strong Ukrainian official negation of Hitler's hysterical policy against Jews did not endear the Ukrainians to the German Fuhrer or his Nazi Party.

But soon — all too soon — black clouds of Gestapo uniforms appeared in Ukraine, with clear orders from Hitler and Himmler, "Kill the newborn freedom of Ukraine".

Following the Act of June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian Government started to organize the Ukrainian Armed Forces under the command of Roman Shukhevych. Also, it nominated Ambassadors to some European Governments and to the Imperial Japanese Government, however, Germany, of course, did not recognize Ukraine, and its allies such as Italy and Rumania followed suit.

Because in July, 1941, Ukraine did not have any significant military force to oppose the German Wehrmacht, the Ukrainian Government decided to defend Ukrainian independence by political means, namely by allowing its members to be arrested, instead of going underground. However, despite German pressures and tortures, *not one* arrested member of the Ukrainian Government ever revoked the Act of June 30, 1941. This, in fact, was considered a declaration of war against Germany, and already, a year later, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) started this war by means of arms.

Stepan Bandera was arrested by the German Gestapo on July 5 in Krakow, Yaroslav Stetsko and some other members of the Ukrainian Government were arrested in Lviv on July 11. The German colonial policy in Eastern Europe started its march to its final doom of the dream of the thousand-year Reich. Germany never learned from history, which could have told it how this march would end.

Four European military expeditions against Russia, namely Charles, XIIth, Napoleon's, Kaiser Wilhelm's and finally Hitler's did not succeed because their perpetrators did not fully recognize nor take into proper account the aspirations of Ukraine and other East-European nations. The Swedish King Charles XII came closest to victory, but even he did not listen to the advice of Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa, and finally suffered defeat.

As we are now facing a possible and probable new confrontation with Russia, let us hope that the lessons of history this time will be remembered by those world powers, who want to build a better world for all of us — a world of free peoples and free nations.

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Volodymyr BOLUBASH

THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY:

UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

The concept of "nation", "nationality", and "nationalism" has been studied by several interdisciplinary subjects in the field of humanities. Inasmuch as sociology takes for its subject all social phenomena, and history — all historical phenomena, psychology incorporates for its subject-matter all psychological phenomena. In addition the above mentioned concepts are objects of studies by such disciplines as ethnopsychology, political economy, and in the last analysis by philosophical anthropology. It is our aim to approach this subject-matter from one of the branches of psychology, that is, from the perspective of depth psychology and some aspects of phenomenology.

Although these concepts have existed lexicologically and in the terminological nomenclature prior to the origin of depth psychology, it is only with the development of this branch of psychology that a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of these terms has emerged a theoretical reality.

It was the Great French Revolution which imparted to these notions new meaning and new understanding. Whereas prior to the French Revolution the loyalty of the individual was invested in its ruler, the city, the prince or the empire, with the coming of the French Revolution the people's loyalty had psychologically altered and the nation as a whole received the allegiance of all strata of the society. It should be noted, however, that patriotism always existed either as applied to the locality, or as extended to the tribe, clan, the city-state but not to one's nationality. With the French Revolution came into being the feeling of patriotism and such national symbols as the national flag, the national anthem, and the national army. The slogan "liberty, equality, and fraternity" became the trade mark and the underlying principles of the French Revolution.

The fusion of patriotism with nationality and the predominance of national patriotism over all other human loyalties is called nationalism in the contemporary form of reference. Nationalism calls into play the will, the intellect, the imagination and the emotion. In other words, it embraces the psychological totality of human experiential being and the phenomenal collective contests of its nation. Psychologically speaking, none of the enumerated functions is given a dominant position in the complex structure of the human

psyche. Each of the psychological functions supplements or complements one another to form a homeostasis or psychological equilibrium of the psychophysical organism.

The most impressive and demonstrable phenomenon in our age is the universality of manifestations of nationalism. The age of nationalism is world-wide and its momentum is being accelerated on all continents of the globe in the form of national liberation and in the form of preserving the status quo.

Evidently, nationalities have become the most natural divisions of human race implanted deep in human hearts. Nationalism is synonymous with the present form of patriotism. At the same time, nationality is the ultimate psychological and culturological force capable of maintaining the bonds with the past and provides spiritual protection for the present and the anticipated future. Man without historical roots cannot have a true culture nor self-respect and self-identification.

Herder holds that it is criminal of any nation to subject or interfere in any way with the natural development of another nation. To abridge or demean the culture of a people is the worst manifestation of barbarism.

"Nationality is the profoundest, the most general and the most stable foundation of human society... One's nationality man experiences fundamentally, for without a national substratum with respect to the ethno-cultural root of the individual, he becomes a detached atom... The content of his consciousness is conglomeratic and its perfection is technical".¹ Nationality is the proper basis for state and government. The fundamental component of sovereignty resides essentially within the nation-state. "Nationalism is a necessary condition of mankind's progress for the perishability of a nation suffers not only the nation itself, but humanity as a whole".² Nationalities are the essential units of human society. The Almighty implanted in human nature the irresistible impulse to form nations with their distinct and common attributes such as language, geography, history, culture, religion, and so on. Thus nationalism is the most natural and reasonable means of assuring national and individual rights of the nation. Obviously, it is nationality which is a genuine and concrete expression of a continuity of a nation in time and space". Each nationality was for Herder a manifestation of the Divine, and, therefore, something sacred which should not be destroyed but cultivated".³

The intensity of experiencing nationalism by an oppressed people is much deeper than nationalism of free nations. Subjugation and

1) Y. Vasssyan, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, Yevshan Zillia, Toronto, 1972 p. 32 (in Ukrainian).

2) Y. Sverstiuk, *Cathedral in Scaffold*, Smoloskyp, Baltimore, 1971, p. 45.

3) H. Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*, D. Van Norstrand Co., New York, 1971, p. 31.

oppression are bound to form complexes of inferiority, self-degradation, and humiliation. The latter supply psychological experiences for reflection and frustration. At the same time it should be noticed that these complexes have a dynamic and autonomous tendency to compensate and to overcome the existing deficiencies. The attainment of national freedom and national statehood eliminates these complexes.

Nationalism as a psychological and sociological phenomena is relatively of recent origin and it is exceedingly complex and transcendental. It defies exact definition. In our understanding of the term, it is a devotion to one's nation, the most profound and it constitutes the strongest cohesive force of human sociality; it is a spiritual synthesis of ethnicity, history, culture, and teleologically experienced phenomenality. Whichever definition we accept, if it is free of imperialism and of psychological ethnocentricity, it will satisfy our perception of the notion of nationalism. As we have been seeing, "Nationalism has spread into the furthest corners of the world; wherever it has gone, it has shaped human thought and society according to its image".⁴ Nationalism is a state of mind, an idea, a *Weltanschauung* which permeates man's brain and heart with a new reflection and orientation. Although we live in an age of nationalism, there is no universal concept of nationalism. By the same token, man can fulfil his human predisposition only within and through his nationality. Our civilization has certainly been enriched by the beautiful product of national cultures. "Nationality and work, nationality and creativity, nationality and education, nationality and liberty are words which must become synonymous".⁵ Not internationalism, but nationalism has become the dominant tradition and a determining force of our times. All levels of education in every country are basically national, not international.

The sentiment of nationalism derives from the deepest strata of the collective unconscious. By "Collective unconscious" Jung understands "All those psychic contents... which are peculiar not to one individual, but to many, at the same time, that is, either to a society, a people, or mankind in general. Such contents are the "mystical collective ideas;... they include also the general concepts of right, the state, religion... With civilized peoples collective feeling are also bound up with certain collective ideas such for example as the ideas of od, justice, fatherland, etc".⁶ The antithesis of collective is individual. Jung maintains furthermore, that the collective unconscious of the nation belongs to the autonomous part of the psyche. That implies that it has its own laws of life and its peculiar ways of manifesting itself. The sphere of the collective unconscious does not

4) H. Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, The Macmillian Co., New York, 1961, p. vii.

5) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, Monad Press, N. Y. 1974, p. 20.

6) C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London 1949, p. 530.

allow itself to be manipulated by coercion, foreign indoctrination or alien ideologies. Apparently it is that component of the living soul which is the most closely interrelated to such fundamental notions as the notion of nationality, sociality, religiosity, and humanity. No matter how persistently a hostile doctrine attempts to reach into the nucleus of the autonomy of the collective psychic contents in order to suck out, deform or distort them, no matter how much efforts will be given to replace the collective authenticity of the psyche, it will not and cannot succeed in attaining this goal. For it is the domain of nature which harbours the most cherished taboos and values both individual and social. Man can be made mentally ill and placed in a mental institution, but he cannot be converted into an intellectual ideal. The nature of man is very conservative and aristocratic, and does not change easily if at all its tendencies of self-determination.

THE PHENOMENON OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

Existential phenomenology represents a considerable extension or even alteration of pure phenomenology. For Heidegger, phenomenology is a tool for more adequate understanding of the human being, and of Being itself. For Jung, phenomenology consists of experiencing conscious and unconscious contents, beliefs and myths of individual and collective representations.

When we talk of depth psychology we do speak about something latent and hidden, of something that is dangerous to explore. "But depths are also the places where treasures are hidden and where, therefore, the most rewarding work of searching may be done".⁷ By definition, depth psychology pertains to the exploration of the unconscious. The latter is a place where primordial images of the cultural evolution and the understanding of human relations and interactions are formulated.

The underlying psychodynamic force or Libido in the Jungian frame of reference consists of archetypes of the collective unconscious. Archetypes in their complex constellation might be defined as an inherited organization of psychic energy; it is a manifestation of impulses, motifs, instinct and drives towards attaining and fulfilling self-realization and self-actualization. Archetypes provide signals of coming danger, insecurity, salvation, and anticipation of a simple or complex situations.

The history of a nation is a continuous stream of challenges and of corresponding responses. Every deeper experience of conflicts and confrontations activates and reactivates inner dormant forces to meet the danger and threat to the individual and the collective sense of man's security. When a situation arises, the depth psychic forces rise

⁷) I. Proff, *Depth Psychology & Modern Man*, McGraw-Hill, 1969, p. 3.

up to the surface of man's phenomenal field of consciousness and a strategy to confront the danger is contemplated.

A strong influx of nationalism and patriotism is felt whenever the fate of the nation is in danger. The land where one was born leaves a significant imprint on man's perception of his mother country. "The spirit of the earth . . . works in mysterious ways . . ." and "The soil of every country holds such mystery. We have an unconscious reflection of this in the psyche".⁸ We must explicitly realize the experiential wisdom that whatever is of vital significance for the existence of the Ukrainian nation resides within the collective instinct and the collective psyche of the Ukrainian people. As any other historical nation, Ukraine demands its natural and fundamental rights and fights for the ultimate attainment of these rights. National independence, self-government and exercising power over its internal and external affairs is the essential goal of Ukrainian nationalism.

For several centuries Russian imperialism has been striving to strangle and destroy the fundamental aspirations of the Ukrainian people. It has been importing and forcibly instilling its imperial symbols, values, and ideas which "... have been made on foreign soil, saturated with blood, spoken in a foreign tongue, nourished by a foreign culture, and interwoven with foreign history".⁹

The depth-psychological strata of the collective psyche of the Ukrainian people has been creative, humanistic, and hospitable.

Innumerable foreign travellers across Ukraine have left their written testimonies in which they emphasize the impressive and positive characterological traits of the Ukrainian people". In his philosophical reflections on Ukraine I. Dzyuba stresses that "The Ukrainian people has never been aggressive and intolerant towards others; never in its history has it enslaved other people. To the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian intellectuals, because of their democratic spirit, narrow nationalism has always been alien, and chauvinism quite unnatural".¹⁰ To carry on the struggle for the very survival of the nation is a sacred moral imperative of every citizen of the nation. Nationalism in this sense is a noble phenomenon.

The great quantity of national energy released by the Ukrainian National Revolution in 1918 and subsequent struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against Russian bolshevism and German Nazism has definitely reawakened and transformed the quality of national consciousness. As a result of the struggle for its national independence and the influx of new energy and determination, a higher level of

8) C. G. Jung, CW 10, *Civilization in Transition*, Princeton University Press, 1964/70.

9) C. G. Jung, *Psychological Reflections*, Selected and Edited by J. Jacobi, Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 49.

10) I. Dzyuba, *op cit.* p. 13.

national self-awareness has been attained in all parts of Ukraine. "This constant self-renewal, self-preservation, self-defence is a profound collective instinct of a people, an indestructible, unconscious natural force like the instinct of self-preservation and the force of self-renewal of any organism. It is these forces of natural life that break through spontaneously and unexpectedly everywhere".¹¹

The negative phenomenon in Ukrainian history has been the fact that Ukraine was historically attacked from many sides and it became a battleground against foreign invasions and aggressions as well as foreign ideologies and orientations. Speaking of untransplantable ideas from foreign sources, Jung makes the following assertion: "We are in reality unable to borrow or absorb anything from outside, from the world, or from history. What is essential to us can only grow out of ourselves... What he has already swallowed he is forced to reject again as if it were a foreign body, for his blood refuses to assimilate anything sprung from foreign soil".¹² The national fabric of the nation consists of psychological and culturological particularity par excellence and it excludes the possibility of transplanting on its matrix foreign seeds.

The history of Ukraine as it is presented to the students of continental Ukraine and to western students is fabricated in Moscow and is apparently extremely distorted and falsified to serve the political purpose of imperial Russia. In conjunction with the manipulation of the history of Ukraine, Mychaylo I. Braichevskyi, a prominent archeologist and an historian makes the following remarks: "It appeared that in the course of many centuries the Ukrainian people fought mainly against their own independence, that an independent existence was a major evil for our people, and that therefore all those who summoned the people to struggle for national independence were the most implacable enemies of the Ukrainian people".¹³

The entire history of the former Russian empire, which Engels called an immense amount of stolen property and the history of the communist Russia is a history of aggression, devastation of national cultures, economic, religious, and political subjugation and colonization of many nationalities. Still, in the judgement of Moscow's oligarchy, "nationalism of an oppressed nation is always a reaction to the chauvinism of the imperialistic nation, a reaction to the persecution that an oppressed nation experiences from the side of the ruling nation".¹⁴

From the perspective of existential psychology every deep experience and every profound conflict and challenge evokes transpersonal

11) op. cit. p. 205.

12) C. G. Jung, *The Integration of Personality*, Routledge & Kegan, London, 1950, p. 31.

13) M. I. Braichevskyi, *Annexation or Reunification*, Ed. and Tr. by G. Kulchycky, Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik, 1974, München, p. 18.

14) Ibid., p. 23.

and transsubjective forces of the nation and places them at a potential readiness to defend the state of the people and the treasures of the culture. Corroborating this observation, Ivan Dzyuba says that "... it is not strange or suprising at all- but quite natural and normal — that more and more people all over Ukraine begin to feel deeply disturbed about the fate of their nation. Particularly bitter and often contradictory thoughts arise among a large section of the youth".¹⁵

Russia's armed conquest of many nations and nationalities in Asia and Eastern Europe, and we should not overlook the fact that those nations have a history and culture older than Russia's, is being justified by its history of having assisted these nations in "liberating" them from their own national "oppressive" governments. It should also be pointed out that for centuries ethnic Russian people have experienced a complex of inferiority and at the same time projecting the same upon other civilized people of the West by always avoiding, isolating and being suspicious of any humanistic ideas) a system of philosophy) originated in the West. Henrick Smith, in his Pulitzer-winning book *The Russians* made a point of reference with respect to this phenomenon. "Paradoxically, despite the Russian sense of national moral superiority much of the gusty boastfulness in the Soviet press about the Soviet Union being first, largest and best in every conceivable field seems a compensation for deep-set national sense of inferiority toward the West..."¹⁶ I. Dzyuba derides Russia's claim of having "helped" other nations in their liberation and makes similar observations with regard to its emptiness and boastfulness. "What an unusual people-unique in the whole world, which could make others happy while being itself one of the most unhappy, and which bestows on others what it did not possess itself".¹⁷ Peter wished to get European practical technology, but not her spiritual ideas of liberty and human dignity. The prevailing philosophy from Peter to Brezhnev has not altered. "Under the influence of the Soviet government and its revolutionary propaganda the wild instincts of the race have been reawakened, and a new and different consciousness has started to animate the Mongol people..."¹⁸ The danger of Russian nihilism and evil has penetratingly been grasped by already quoted Jung. "The Christian world is now truly confronted by the principle of evil, by naked injustice, tyranny, lies, slavery, and coercion of conscience. This manifestation of naked evil assumed apparently permanent form in the Russian nation".¹⁹

A great deal of misunderstanding has intentionally and calculatedly been created by the Kremlin on the one hand and accepted neutrally

15) I. Dzyuba, op. cit., p. 202.

16) H. Smith, *The Russians*, Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1976, p. 312.

17) I. Dzyuba, op. cit., p. 73.

18) H. Kohn, op. cit., p. 10.

19) C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, Vintage Books, N. Y., 1963, p. 328.

and in good faith by the West on the other such terms as "Soviet communism". "Russian communism". Of course, it is a topic in itself, and we will not go into a detailed analysis of these notions. However, it should emphatically be stated that the term "Russian communism" epitomizes the true reality in historical retrospective. Nicolas Berdyaev, a Russian philosopher in his well known work "The Origin of Russian Communism" incontrovertibly holds the position that communism is of Russian creation. "Russian Communism is difficult to understand on account of its twofold nature. On the one hand it is international and a world phenomenon (an attempt to dominate the world, W. B.); on the other hand it is national and Russian. It is particularly important for Western minds to understand the national roots of Russian Communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined its limits and shaped its character. A knowledge of Marxism will not help in this".²⁰ "The very internationalism of the Russian communist revolution is purely Russian and national...".²¹ Russian messianism and Marxian messianism fused together and strive to dominate the world.

However, the age of empires belongs to the past. Nationalism and national liberation movements are the great personalities and formidable forces of modern history. "All over the world nations are not dying out, on the contrary, are developing and growing stronger, in order to offer as much as possible to the creation of universal values".²² Already quoted M. Braichevskyi says that "Presently mankind is living through the collapse of the colonial system: an unprecedented sweep of wars of national liberation has enveloped colonial and dependent countries, which in the course of the past decades one after another are gaining victory and winning state sovereignty... The attainment of self-determination is realized in the framework of the national idea".²³

The depth psychology of every nation is synonymous with the life of the nation itself, and when the existence of the nation is threatened the people will turn their defensive mechanisms against the source of oppressive intervention. Human nature is evidently sensitive and aristocratic; it does not tolerate interference and repression.

Those of us who follow closely Kremlin's ethnopolitics have noticed lately a determined attempt to mould and fuse all nationalities in the USSR into a super "Soviet nation" through the process of Russification of the communications media and the system of education at all levels. There is no doubt in our mind that this attempt will fail, for it is impossible to instill loyalty among the various nationalities to the empire first and their own national entity last. This act contravenes

20) N. Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism*, The University of Michigan Press, 1960, p. 7.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 114.

22) I. Dzyuba, *op. cit.* p. 207.

23) M. I. Braichevskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 23-24.

the elementary principle of nature. What nature has divided must remain divided. To deny national first and substitute it with sovietism is to create an anticulture of literally barbaric dimensions. It is known that whoever lost or dissociated himself from his authentic national symbols and values and accepted the official conglomeratic ideology, that person has developed an inner vacuum with such psychological consequences as the feeling of rootlessness, shallowness, dehumanization, and neurosis.

Since the Russian communist ideology has been totally and irreversibly discredited in the eyes of non-Russian nationalities in Europe and Asia and the dynamic question of nationalities has assumed new dimension, one may anticipate the applicability of even stronger repression against these national liberation movements. At the same time it must be stated that people are not afraid anymore of the repressive measures, arrests, confinements and incarceration. This is a frightening development for the KGB and the imperial government. The last existing empire, that is, the Russian empire will inevitably disintegrate not as a result of thermonuclear exchange, but it will collapse as a result of the internal explosion of national liberation movements. The phenomenal emergence of nations in the world manifests the universal principle of nationalism.

The Ukrainian people has already determined itself politically by proclaiming its total independence in 1918, and by establishing its national government. Until then the memory of the Ukrainian statehood was preserved in the cultural field (literature). As in the past, Ukrainian statehood fell victim to Russian aggression. Not since the Mongolian invasion of the Kyivan Kingdom has Ukraine suffered so many casualties in resisting Russian domination and colonization.

In spite of the heavy losses in terms of population, material and cultural wealth, the Ukrainian people has shown an amazing regenerative ability. "Ukraine herself is a flower which has grown up in the snow, a flower that pushes up through the rocks..."²⁴ "The extent of Ukraine's spiritual potential is already adequate to fill any vacuum and to produce new public figures to replace those who are in prison and those who have withdrawn from public activity... The national renaissance is the most profound of all spiritual processes. It has both scope and depth and can manifest itself in a thousand forms... The national renaissance is a process with practically unlimited resources, because national sentiment lives in the soul of every human being, even in one who, it seemed, had long since died spiritually... The new processes in Ukraine are just beginning".²⁵

Since the trial of V. Moroz, hundreds of Ukrainian activists, scholars, poets, writers, and intellectuals have been incarcerated and many have been covertly murdered by the KGB. These and other

²⁴ V. Moroz, *Report from the Beria Reserve*, ed. and tr. by J. Kolasky, Peter Martin Associates Ltd., Toronto 1974, p. 94.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119-120.

events and processes that are taking place in Ukraine (burning down of libraries) and the availability of information about this development to millions of people in Ukraine on a daily basis transmitted in Ukrainian and other languages by such radio stations as the "Voice of America", "Radio Free Europe", "Liberty", "Radio Canada", the Vatican Radio, the BBC, the "Jerusalem Radio", the Chinese, and several others perform a tremendous informative function for the eager listeners in continental Ukraine.

Obviously, because of the strategic, geopolitical, and economic position of Ukraine, Russian colonial cogs in Ukraine pass the harshest sentences upon Ukrainian patriots. "Many political prisoners are nationalists from Ukraine . . ." and "Especially severe sentences have been meted out to those people, who in most cases have been prosecuted because of their concern for preserving their national cultures in face of a threat of Russification", says A. Sakharov.²⁶ Of course, the preservation of national culture is of immense significance, however, it is the political independence of Ukraine from Russian colonialism that Ukrainian nationalism is fighting for.

In the light of such a wide sociological national liberation movements there is nothing to stop it from even more extensive ramification short of massive genocide, which is unlikely in the existing constellation in the Russian empire. The national movement in its instinctive and directive intentionality has become potentially and actually an irreversible process. The ultimate battle for the national soul of nationalities in the USSR has been lost by Moscow. When the time comes, perhaps ethnic Russia itself will get some degree of human freedom and dignity as a result of these processes. "A nation cannot be free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations".²⁷ The fall of the empire will also remove the continuous threat to Western civilization and many nations on the Asian continent.

In elaborating on the phenomenon of Russian imperialism from somewhat deeper perspective in a book "The Russian Idea", N. Berdyaev states that messianic consciousness is more characteristic with the Russian than of any other people. In developing this idea he notes that Russian thinking has an inclination towards totalitarian doctrine and totalitarian way of looking at life as a whole. In exposing the Russian dilemma with respect to the existing empire, Berdyaev maintains that "Russian literature and Russian thought are permeated by the hatred of the empire and they expose the evil of it. But at the same time they presuppose the immensity of Russia. This contradiction is inherent in the very spiritual structure of Russia and the Russian people . . . In this lies the tragic element in the historical destiny of Russia and also the complexity of our subject".²⁸

26) A. D. Sakharov, *My Country and the World*, Vintage Books, N. Y., 1975, p. 36.

27) H. B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism*, Monthly Review Press, N. Y., 1973, p. 19.

28) N. Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*, tr. by G. Bless, The Century Press, London, 1947, p. 217-218.

Orest B. PYTLAR

HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY FOR THE RISE OF A UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

In the Western World of today there exist some false notions of nationalism as of something new, suspicious and morbid, a creation of the modern era, a survival of the French Revolutionary chauvinistic spirit, or even a product of the Fascist regimes of the Thirties. These ideas are widely accepted most of all among our Anglo-Saxon co-citizens, whose frankly anti-nationalistic attitudes have largely contributed to their sad and continuous defeats in the so called "cold" (and not so cold) war. To make it simpler, our friends have been indulging in a skillful game of semantics.

To them:

A nation — is an existing political state structure, no matter how inorganic in its national origin and composition (multi-national empire, multi-tribal former colony).

The "national" interests, border, "internal problems" are sacrosanct. And on the contrary — liberating nationalisms, meaning efforts of the subjugated nations to change the existing status quo are regarded as destructive and anarchic, to be ignored or to be condemned.

However, these statements of political convenience or naiveté do not agree with the simple historical facts.

First of all, the nationalism of the subjugated nations is not basically different from the national policies of those nations which are lucky enough to be free, victorious and expansionist. Both phenomena are not a creation of modern times, they originated at the dawn of human civilization, the moment when primitive tribal structures were succeeded by clearly defined "national" units with separate cultural, linguistic, and sometimes racial characteristics, and even with distinct religious beliefs as an earliest expression of national identity and coherence.

According to Oswald Spengler, the first step towards an eventual defeat and destruction of those early historical "cultures" (=nations in our sense) had been the loss of their established religious beliefs. A "culture" which preserved its national beliefs could survive even a loss of its independent statehood, which was then succeeded by a period of liberating and revolutionary nationalism (obviously known in those times under different names).

To cite just one historical example familiar to all: The struggle of the Jewish national-religious movement of Bar-Kokhba or of the Maccabees was not less, perhaps more, impressive than the much

vanted, short lived and fast corrupted era of the Kings, of whom there were only two glorious ones — David and Solomon.

What are the pre-requisites for the creation of a liberating and revolutionary nationalistic movement? There are three basic ones, one being positive:

The existence of a collective “national conscience”, meaning a wish for national freedom and unity within one’s own independent statehood and the two negative ones, being:

1. Domination by foreign power in the form of a colonial or semi-colonial dependence, and/or
2. Absence of a national unity consequent upon division of the national territory between two or more foreign invaders — or even between the local dynastic interests.

All of these conditions have existed in Ukraine since that far off time when the medieval Kyivan state fell under the impact of the barbaric Tartar hordes, and was consequently subjugated by the less civilized but more fortunate neighbours (lucky, because of the absence of the open steppe areas in their territories) — Lithuanians, and Poles, and finally Russians.

There is no wonder that Ukrainians were among the pioneers of the nationalistic liberation movements in Europe. In Ukraine this movement took place in the two distinct historical periods but followed roughly similar ideological and political paths, peculiar to the liberating nationalisms:

1. A cultural renaissance, cultural and literary activity, ideological effervescence, followed by
2. Revolutionary eruption with the resulting establishment of a more or less lasting political statehood.

The first period of Ukrainian liberating nationalism was that of the XVI-XVII centuries, with the intense cultural activity of the brotherhoods and academies of Kyiv, Lviv and Ostroh, and with religious polemical literature with a clear line of defence of national, Eastern-Orthodox Church — in the first phase — and in the second phase — creation of the cossack military organization and a victorious revolution under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, with the resulting establishment of an independent cossack state.

The famous historical words of Khmelnytskyi in 1649: “I shall free from the Polish yoke all Ukrainian people. All my people will help me — as far as the Vistula river. And I shall stand on that river and shall tell the Poles beyond: ‘Sit there and be quite, you Poles!’ ” — show a clearly defined, modern nationalistic spirit, rather surprising at the time, when the greater European (Thirty Years’) war had just been fought in the name of supra-national, religious divisions.

The second era of the Ukrainian liberating nationalistic movement lasted in XIX-XX centuries, starting with the great, prophetic genius

of a national poet — Taras Shevchenko — and going through the same usual two phases of the liberating nationalism:

First — a literary and cultural renaissance, and then — an active revolutionary movement of the popular masses, the creation, in 1929, of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, with its long revolutionary activity, its triumphs, and defeats, and losses, its Ukrainian Insurrectional Army, and the Holocaust of the German and Soviet "extermination camps".

Unfortunately for Ukraine, its great historical opportunity for national liberation — the catastrophe of the First World War and the resulting defeat and desintegration of both imperialistic powers which had been dividing the Ukrainian national territory between themselves — the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian empires — came at the time, when the revolutionary phase of its nationalism was not ready yet, when there was no clearly defined nationalistic ideology, and no revolutionary organization comparable to the O.U.N.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia of 1917 was dreaming of the international brotherhood under the influence of socialistic dogmas. The wide masses of the people were neither organized, nor sufficiently awoken to their national aim. Consequently, the Ukrainian National Republic of 1918-1921 could not withstand the assault of the new, revived Russian imperialism, this time under red guise. With the help of its other "good neighbours" Ukraine was divided again into four parts, not unlike the division of Poland one hundred and forty years before.

Also, somewhat similar to the Polish national awakening in the XIX century, the national disaster of Ukraine provoked not only much soul searching and mutual accusations among the Ukrainians in the Twenties, but also the birth of a new liberating nationalistic movement. And so the O.U.N. was born like a Phoenix from the ashes of the national defeat. It has not yet brought about the national liberation of Ukraine. Looking at the results of its past activity, any practical minded Westerner might see nothing but hundreds of thousands of dead and exiled and prison camp slaves — nothing but defeat.

But we, who know what it was all about, we know better. We know that whenever a liberating, revolutionary nationalism had been started, it must, with a historical finality, bring about in the end a victory and liberation of the subjugated nation. These are not my own words, by the way, but those of Prof. Seton-Watson, a well known British author, an expert of the Eastern European problems, and well acquainted with the nationalistic movements of that area.

Or to quote the representative of the new Ukrainian nationalist spirit, Mr. Valentyn Moroz, "The liberation of Ukraine is no longer a probability, it is now only a question of time".

Stepan BANDERA

UKRAINE SHALL NOT BE MOSCOW'S ACCOMPLICE

Below we print an essay written by the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, written in 1957, two years before his assassination by the KGB.

The theme of the essay is Moscow's attempts to seduce Ukraine into helping with Russia's imperialistic designs. It is particularly relevant in the wake of the Soviet-Russian invasion of Afganistan.

Dissident circles in the USSR have said that on January 9 15 Soviet soldiers (they do not say which nationality) were shot after they refused to fire on Muslim rebels.

The same day another 60 Soviet soldiers died in a battle between soldiers loyal to the Red Army and those who refused to fight in the war of expansion.

Moscow at least has to be given credit for her consistency and determination to fulfill her imperialistic aims and for perseveringly seeking new methods to attain her chosen goal when the old ones prove obsolete. This is made particularly clear by all her attempts to secure Ukraine's dependence to the Russian empire.

The politics of czarist Russia were based on the conviction that the conquest of Ukraine was already definitively achieved. Thus the formula: "There never was, is not and cannot be (a Ukrainian nation)" was rigidly adhered to. This formula not only applied to the national-political independence, but also to the national-cultural individuality of Ukraine. The national-political reawakening of Ukraine and the beginning of the Ukrainian national revolution of 1917-1919 surprized and dealt a severe blow to Moscow's imperialistic politics. The vestiges of czarist imperialism tried to destroy this (national revolution) through military action — directed its main forces and allied aid in a war against Ukraine. The representatives of the Provisional Government, led by Kerensky, tried to benefit from this period. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks — a fresh and dynamic force determined to save and secure the whole empire by any means, understood that they would not be able to conquer Ukraine through coercion or (military) advances alone.

The success and victory of Bolshevism in its first takeover of Ukraine lay in the peculiar combination of both (military) advances and coercion. Abusing the slogans of national and social liberation, adapted to some extent to the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation — which the Bolsheviks had no intention of ever realising — Bolshevism

weakened the unity and determination of the national opposition in Ukraine. To a great extent this helped their military advance to defeat the Ukrainian state established during the turmoil of war and revolution.

The Bolsheviks wanted to immediately secure their victory over Ukraine through the use of terror and the total elimination of those elements seeking independence. These have remained the basic methods used by Moscow in trying to fulfill her nationality policies against her captive nations. However, the Bolsheviks did not succeed in subduing Ukraine through the use of these tactics during the first years of their still weak regime. This was one reason why they were forced to grant considerable concessions to Ukraine's desire for freedom. This resulted in a slackening of the Bolshevik regime during the so-called NEP and Ukrainianisation period. Ukrainian national elements shifted and overstepped the limits that Moscow tried to impose during the period of temporary relaxation. This element was totally nationalist in content and desired to achieve Ukraine's independence from Moscow in all areas and forms of life. It even absorbed a section of communist and resulted in the slogan: "Away from Moscow!"*

The several-year long period of relaxation was also used by the Bolsheviks for internal organisation and consolidation of their power, and to prepare for a new, terrifying wave of destruction intended to eliminate those elements considered hostile and disadvantageous to Bolshevik Moscow. Ukraine experienced the worst excesses of Stalinist destruction and terror. Beginning with an attack, directed against the Ukrainian revolutionary underground and against all elements wanting political independence, that devastated Ukrainian national and cultural life, the Stalinist terror the proportions of an unprecedented historical event — the planned genocide (of the Ukrainian nation), which the Bolsheviks tried to achieve through the imposition of an organised famine and the systematic physical destruction of all recalcitrant elements.

The bloody deeds committed by Kaganovich, Khrushchov, Postyshev, Yezhov, the famine, collectivisation, the OGPU-NKVD, prisons, concentration camps Solovka, Kolyma, the mass graves filled with mutilated corpses — which remain as the testament of an eternally unfathomable crime of Bolshevik atrocities and persecutions afflicted on Ukraine.

But all those Bolshevik atrocities, liquidations and destruction committed in the fourth decade of this century did not succeed in destroying the will of the Ukrainian nation to gain its freedom and rights. This will erupted once again with an elemental force during

*) This slogan was again put into popular use by the communist Mykola Khvylovy in 1933.

the Second World War, taking Bolshevik Russia completely by surprise. Imbued with a deeply concealed, but deeply ingrained hatred for Moscow and its communism, Ukrainian soldiers in the Soviet Army deserted Russian fronts. Confronted with the invasion by Hitler's hostile Germany, the Ukrainian nation manifested its unbroken desire for independence through a renewed proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian nation and an independent life. Even in the most tragic circumstances, when Ukraine was under the attack of two hostile colossuses — the USSR and Germany, the Ukrainian nation continued its struggle for national liberation on two fronts. As the Soviet Army successfully advanced further and further west, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued its operations at both the rear and front of Russian formations. The battle of the Ukrainian underground, OUN-UPA, continued even after the war ended in the form of partisan warfare, and eventually took the form of revolutionary tactics.

Once again Moscow was shown that all her attempts to conquer Ukraine with Bolshevik imperialism would not bring her desired results. Even Stalin, an unsurpassed executioner, understood that Ukraine could not be subdued through ruin and terror alone. Confronted by a difficult war, he realised that he had to grant some concessions to Ukrainian national aspirations. This was the basic reason for various tactical moves, the culmination of which was the introduction of the Ukrainian SSR into the international arena, and in particular, her membership into the UN. The Bolsheviks of course ensured that these changes brought no benefit to Ukraine, but only advantages to Moscow. However, the concessions gained under the pressure of necessity remained a salient fact — which the Kremlin would rather not have conceded.

Although Moscow again introduced a strengthened system of terror and destruction against Ukrainian national elements in the post-war period, she did not dare liquidate all Ukrainian life as freely and openly as she had in the preceding period. As more care was taken by Moscow in this sphere of her activities, so the deeply rooted and wide-spread revolutionary struggle of the nationalist underground strengthened. The Bolsheviks were forced to direct their main forces against it. But in order to deflect Ukrainian strengths from the revolutionary struggle, the Bolsheviks were compelled to allow some what greater opportunities for the manifestation and development of national cultural life in particular. In the sphere of national politics, the Bolsheviks were forced, even during the Stalinist era, to forge along the path of direct political russification of the captive nations, which they attempted through the formation of the so-called Soviet nation. They were forced to recognise the individuality of the Ukrainian nation in a political context, but in order to counter balance this, the Bolsheviks began to increasingly emphasise the ruling status of

Russians in the USSR and in order to appease their own imperialistic ambitions. Thus under the facade of "a united Soviet nation" the formula "two brother nations", with Russia as the "older brother" and Ukraine "the yonger", appeared more and more frequently. But this Muscovite superiority was once again forced into the background.

This Bolshevik deceit — the feigning of respect for Ukrainian national aspirations, did not detract the Ukrainian nation from her chosen path. Similarly, an out and out attack on the revolutionary liberation struggle did not succeed in destroying it. The force emigration of a recalcitrant population throughout many lands can only succeed in lighting the fire of the liberation revolution throughout the whole empire. A struggle is even developing within the concentration camps. These Bolshevik centres of torture, destruction and terror are alight with an unprecedented heroism and unbroken revolutionary spirit — visible throughout the USSR. Moscow only becomes more keenly aware that Ukrainian national aspirations cannot be uprooted. This results in Moscow's awareness of the fact while the conquest of Ukraine opens the road for the growth of the Russian empire, it also presents a fatal threat to the survival of that same empire.

A new plan has now been drawn up by the Bolsheviks formulating the role of Ukraine within the communist bloc. This is intended to be Ukraine's shared domination with Russia of Bolshevik-dominated European lands. This is intended to simulate Moscow's and Peking domination of the Communist-dominated Asian lands. Thus Kyiv is presented more and more as being hand in hand with Moscow.

The transition from the policy of older-younger brother to the tactic of co-domination is gradually being introduced into Bolshevik nation politics. The starting point for this was the loudly celebrated thirtieth anniversary of the Pereyaslav treaty. This tactic has been especially obvious in the last few months, when Kyiv was honoured with the visits of all party-state delegations from the satellite countries. These delegations, after visiting Moscow, then arrived in Kyiv where similar diplomatic ceremonies as were held in Moscow were re-enacted, with the Bolsheviks trying to show that Kyiv was the second capital city (of the USSR) This emphasis on the friendship between the Ukrainian and Russian nations also been prominent in the sphere of the economy, especially in various appearances and speeches given by Soviet leaders, and in Voroshilov's speech at the Czech delegation's departure last month.

The Kremlin is hoping that these new tactics will eliminate those elements which threaten the survival of the empire — apparent in the satellites and throughout the USSR. Moscow has tried to assign Ukraine with a particular role in appeasing hostile satellites under Soviet control. Not only are Ukraine's size and potential of great sign-

ificance, but also her well-known love of freedom and her anti-imperialist attitude. Thus Moscow hopes that the manifestation of Ukraine's equality, Ukraine's development and the satisfaction of the Ukrainian nation with her position will appease the nations of the so-called national democracies. This disposition — i.e. reconciliation with fate, is intended to strengthen the satellites' relations with Ukraine — which is intended to act as a seeming counterweight to Moscow. Bolshevik control and propaganda acts in accordance with the aim of pushing Ukraine to the forefront in its relations with the satellite countries.

This new tactic has an even deeper significance as regards Moscow's relations with Ukraine herself. The co-domination of Ukraine and Russia over the USSR and her satellites is intended to provide a new ideal and aim for the political aspirations of the Ukrainian nation. It is intended to neutralise and eliminate Ukrainian nationalism, the desire to break with Russia and to gain national independence. The birth of the belief, that when in union with Russia, Ukraine will become co-ruler of the USSR, and will thus, gain imperial significance and might, should, according to Bolshevik hopes, result in the union of the Ukrainian nation with Russian imperialism, and transform Ukraine into a most ardent supporter of that imperialism. This is the opiate that the present satraps in Moscow hope to use to deceive the Ukrainian nation so that it no longer feels that it is in capacity, so that it forget its soul and becomes an obedient instrument of their imperialistic plans.

The forced emigration of Ukrainians to various countries which Moscow considers its colonies, in particular Kazakhstan, takes on a new meaning when considered in this light. The initial intention of this forced emigration was to weaken the revolutionary and biological potential of Ukraine, to destroy national unity and to introduce recalcitrant elements in the prolonged conflicts between the new settlers and the native populations. Moscow now wishes to impose the role of coloniser and bearer of Bolshevik imperialism on Ukrainian emigres.

But none of these evil designs, thought up by the Kremlin enjoys, success. The Ukrainian nation has recognised Moscow's cunning and communist maliciousness only too well to allow herself to be led astray by such tactical manoeuvres. But for all that, Ukraine's position remains unchanged — she remains captive, oppressed and ridiculed by Moscow. Deceitful propaganda and hypocritical tactics can only be attracted to party and bureaucratic lackeys who severed their ties with their nation long ago — it is not attractive to the actual nation, that is aware of its subordination to Moscow at its every step.

The Ukrainian nation will not allow itself to be deceived by the bait of co-domination, not only because it is false and without sub-

stance, but because the desire for freedom and truth, a sense of justice and the high idealism of the Ukrainian nation have always been and always will be the principles guiding the Ukrainian nation and people, their existence and spirituality. Our nation always strives for its own freedom and that of other nations. It always fought and will fight for truth and for justice. We desire to live in harmony and mutual respect with all nations of good will. We recognise that the rights we are fighting for, are the rights of all nations. We wish to be neither the object or reason for the captivity of nations, nor an exploiter or harbinger of injustice.

We actively fight for freedom and truth, not only because we need them, but because these are God-granted rights, and the foundation of our fate is God's will. Such ideological and moral principles will never allow Ukraine to become Moscow's accomplice in her anti-national imperialism.

1957

*Translated from the Ukrainian
by Lessia Dyakivska*

THE PRINCIPLES OF UKRAINIAN EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL POLITICS

Documents which emerged after two meetings of the revolutionary Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and representatives of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile shed light on the principles and world view shared by the two organizations.

The documents were issued in September 1978 and November 1979 and were signed by Ilya Dmytriw for the revolutionary OUN and Dr. Teofil Leontiy for the Government of the UNR.

In the joint document *The Current Situation Regarding Events in Ukraine and the World* of October 1973 signed by Mykola Livytsky, President of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile, and Jaroslav Stetsko, leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and head of the Ukrainian Government in 1941, there was an examination of the total imposition of Russian imperialism and chauvinism on the Ukrainian nation. It also described the development of the liberating influences within Ukraine and the unremitting struggle of the nation for the restoration of Ukrainian statehood, the current international political situation and the prospects for the revolutionary movements of the oppressed nations within the so-called Soviet Union. Emphasis was placed on the need for unity amongst all the liberating forces who at present merely press for their own uncompromising version of statehood. It is only with such unity that

our common objective can be realised. With this in mind, the revolutionary O.U.N. and the leadership of the U.N.R. formed a Consultative Committee to examine the possibility of and prepare the ground for the return of O.U.N. to the Ukrainian National Council.

This joint document of October 1973 formed the basis from which the combined efforts of the U.N.R. and the revolutionary O.U.N. resulted in the consolidation of all the forces for Ukrainian liberation and their channelling towards helping the struggle of an unsubdued Ukraine.

After discussing the question of the unity of the national political forces and numerous other important aspects, the Consultative Committee of O.U.N. and U.N.R. proceeded to lay down certain principles of Ukrainian external and internal politics.

The current development of events in the world, marked by the so-called policy of detente, bears out in full the appraisal of the international situation outlined in the aforementioned document, *The Current Situation Regarding Events in Ukraine and the World*.

In the present climate of reorganisation in the world, Ukraine's historic task is the struggle against imperialistic Russia, the eternal usurper, an enslaver of nations and individuals, the destroyer of the cultural and social wealth of the civilised world.

Ukraine, together with the other nations under the yoke of Russian imperialism and communism, forms a separate, sovereign, independent force on the world scene. She actively campaigns against the co-existence of a world of serfdom and tyranny and sides with one of freedom and independent nation-states. She organises the forces of the oppressed nations as well as other anti-Russian and anti-communist nations for the struggle aimed at the division of the Russian prison of nations and the destruction of the communist system. In contrast with the Russian empire in the guise of so-called proletarian internationalism, Ukraine advocates a system of independent nation-states for all nations within their own ethnographic territory.

Despite her attempts to conquer and enslave the whole world, the Russian empire remains in a state of perpetual internal crisis caused by the protracted struggle between the nations imprisoned within her and the anti-national communist system.

In the twentieth century, when we have seen, one by one, the collapse of the colonial empires and in their wake have developed powerful national forces which recognise the spirit of the modern age, there can be no place in the world for the last, most brutal and most harsh empire in history — the Russian-Bolshevik empire.

The Fundamental Principles of Ukrainian External Policy

1. The immediate aim of the external Ukrainian independence policy is the expansion of the struggle for the freedom of Ukraine to

the international field. External political activity is a particularly important factor in the fight of the Ukrainian nation for independence and, to a considerable extent, it can bring about its successful conclusion.

Therefore it is necessary to use one's best endeavours to ensure that the case for Ukrainian independence assumes its rightful place in international politics and is not allowed to become the subject of any bartering or a trailer on any foreign ideological or political waggon.

2. Ukrainian external policy and the external political activities of the forces for Ukrainian liberation must be based on the following principles:

i) the essential struggle for the re-establishment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state covering the entire Ukrainian ethnographic territory and its preservation and securing for the Ukrainian nation;

ii) the safeguard of general Ukrainian interests in accordance with the spiritual and material needs of the entire Ukrainian nation;

iii) the pre-eminence of the national idea — the many and varied international alliances and federations should be founded on the principles of national sovereignty and equality of the partner states, a prerequisite of which is the destruction of the Russian colonial empire; the essential element in the future organisation of the world is the national principle, i.e. a system of independent sovereign states in place of empires, which will pave the way for co-operation and association between independent and equal states;

iv) the pre-eminence of one's own strength — Ukrainian external policy must be independent of outside forces and factors; it must be guided by its own nation, by those revolutionary liberating processes which exist in Ukraine and by those forces which are gathering and organising themselves in the liberating struggle;

v) Ukrainian external policy must oppose the enforced isolation of Ukraine which Moscow wishes to achieve and strive to set out certain conditions by which Ukraine and the question of her national independence would be recognised by the countries of the world as a factor not unconnected with their own national interests and their own national security;

iv) Ukraine and her spokesmen must appear at international forums with her own views on lasting political, economic, military and cultural co-operation between the nations and states of the world, taking into account the vital interests, of the Ukrainian nation and state.

3. The Ukrainian liberation policy in the contemporary situation must be governed by the following requirements:

i) to constantly overcome the endeavours of Moscow in the free world to treat Ukraine as an internal problem of the U.S.S.R. and to resolutely discard any hope of foreign intervention, of so-called evolution in the U.S.S.R. and of a change in the imperial regime, because they tend to a decline in thought for independence and a resurgence in pro-Soviet sympathy. In the international sphere it is necessary to oppose the policy of "non-prejudgement" of various russophiles and defenders of the "one and indivisible" Russia and to gain recognition of the right of the Ukrainian nation to its own sovereign state and to its own sovereign political representation;

ii) to strive towards a settlement of points at issue with the immediate neighbours of Ukraine, (but not at the cost of Ukrainian ethnographic territory), in order that it would be possible to concentrate our struggle for independence and direct all our effort and means against the Russian empire, which is not only our enemy, but the principal enemy of all freedom-loving nations;

iii) to strengthen relations and increase co-operation with those nations who under present circumstances find themselves under Russian-Bolshevik influence or under outright occupation and are themselves striving for independence and sovereignty;

iv) to improve relations with those nations and states who are threatened by Russian imperialism, whether directly or indirectly, and show interest in the elimination of this threat by means of the collapse of the Russian empire;

v) to initiate, co-found and take part in the organisation and activities of world-wide and regional anti-communist blocs and organisations. A prerequisite of this is their recognition of the principle of national state sovereignty for those nations imprisoned within the U.S.S.R., which can only be achieved with the destruction of the Russian empire;

vi) against all attempts to impose on a position of non-prejudgement together with a plebiscite in a "democratic" Russian empire, the Ukrainian independence policy resolutely points to the acts of liberation of the Ukrainian nation, by which it has long documented its implacable desire to control its own national life.

4. Whilst it regards highly the idea of the broadest possible international co-operation and the formation of regional and world-wide institutions and organisations, the Ukrainian external policy emphasises that such international collaboration must be based on the principles of equality and the political independence of all nations. It is only on this basis that the nations can reap the decided benefits

and improve their national interests. Various federal, international and cosmopolitan conceptions are merely devices to enable the stronger state to dominate and exploit the other militarily weaker or smaller nations.

5. The present international organisation, the United Nations, together with its many organs, does not defend the interests or deal with the problems of the subjugated nations. The United Nations ought to exist on the principle of sovereign representatives of all nations, in which case the U.S.S.R. and her satellites would be expelled and their former privileges would be exercised by the captive nations whose right it is to be truly represented in this international organisation.

6. Russian imperialism has been and still is the cause of much national distress and suffering throughout Eastern Europe and Asia. Therefore it would be in the best interests of all the nations of the world, in particular those imprisoned in the so-called U.S.S.R., to achieve the speediest destruction of the Russian-Bolshevik empire and the re-establishment or creation of national states in their own ethnographic territories.

7. The Ukrainian liberation policy absolutely rejects the efforts of certain circles to associate the Ukrainian State proclamation by the acts of 22nd January 1918 and 1919 with the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. They maintain the legal succession of the latter state, whereas in fact it is a colony of the Russian empire, and its so-called government merely carries out the directives emanating from the Russian imperial centre.

8. The Ukrainian liberation policy resolutely renounces the attempts of certain circles to speculate with the ideas and aims of those who fight for an unsubdued Ukraine by toying with federalist, anti-government, Marxist-Leninist and other international leftist notions. These they substitute for the national concept, the struggle against a Russian empire of any hue and for a system for the national and social liberation of the Ukrainian nation and the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state.

The Fundamental Principles of Ukrainian Internal Policy

1. In the struggle for the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, a properly defined and realised internal policy is one of the most important aspects of liberation policy, having as its tasks:

i) to provide for the organisation and mobilisation of the internal forces of the nation by supplying the political leadership to direct them in a front for the liberation struggle;

ii) to counteract the harmful influences which seek to undermine or corrupt the strength and unity of the national interest or which attempt to divert it with alien ideas and political doctrines;

iii) to preserve in the nation a lively regard for the ideal of statehood and a consciousness of her historic designation;

iv) to direct all the acts, aspirations and initiatives of communities, diverse organisations, institutions and individuals in a campaigning front for the national and political liberation of Ukraine, while making all particular interests subordinate to this main objective.

2. Our internal policy must always be all-Ukrainian and must defend the interests of the whole nation, embracing the whole of its life and opposing, without compromise, the harmful manifestations which weaken the strength of the nation, tend towards its break-up and party political splintering and attempt to substitute party doctrine and the survival of the fittest for the ideal of statehood.

3. The Ukrainian liberation struggle, directed against the Russian imperialist oppressors and their "yes-men", has as its main aim an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state, the form and government of which will be decided by the Ukrainian nation itself, according to its own will.

4. The Ukrainian community beyond the borders of Ukraine forms an organic composite part of the nation as a whole, fulfilling its appropriate obligations towards the nation and its liberation struggle. The lives and activities of Ukrainians in the free world are indissolubly linked with Ukraine, with her national-political and cultural ideals, with her needs and requirements. All the main secondary sectors of organised Ukrainian life abroad — political, religious, social, cultural, youth educational, professional, financial etc. — are obliged to give of their utmost where the liberation of Ukraine and the enrichment of her cultural and national-spiritual wealth are concerned.

5. Irrespective of the internal diversification which is peculiar to all free societies, all the activities of Ukrainians abroad their organisations, institutions, societies and enterprises, must be based on the ideas of Ukrainian statehood and national patriotism and on the need of the Ukrainian nation to pursue an uncompromising struggle for her national liberation from Russian occupation.

6. The contribution of Ukrainians abroad towards the national liberation struggle in the Fatherland, including external political activity, is duly appreciated by the Ukrainian nation, because the liberation of Ukraine will only be achieved as a result of the work, effort and endeavour of the whole Ukrainian community, through

the complete concentration of the strength and means of all Ukrainians, in Ukraine and abroad, necessary for the national and social release of the Ukrainian nation.

7. Organised Ukrainian social, cultural and educational life abroad is also the supporter and mouthpiece of general Ukrainian national life and general acts for the benefit of the Ukrainian liberation cause. Ukrainian organisations and institutions abroad are of such a form that within them it is possible to foster, nurture and develop national patriotic forces, which are the basis of Ukrainian liberation politics and a preparatory school for the state-creating network.

8. The World Congress of Free Ukrainians, the pinnacle of the social sector, renders an opportunity to successfully co-ordinate and plan the activities of regional communal centres and their similar organisations and institutions, to promote the development of diverse Ukrainian life in the countries of Ukrainian settlement and to increase the spiritual and physical potential with a younger generation raised and educated in the Ukrainian traditions of statehood.

A prerequisite of the successful actions and development of the political and cultural sectors is a proper division of their responsibilities, as defined by programmes and rules.

The centre for social co-operation, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, can neither lay claim to being the centre for political groupings nor set itself up as a substitute for the actual political centre. The Ukrainian representation in international political organisations must have a political character since it is the genuine reflection of the political aspirations of the Ukrainian nation and its struggle for independence, which must not be confined to a mere defence of human rights, because it is only within a sovereign state, for which Ukraine is striving, that such rights may be secured. The most essential task of the political representation abroad of the Ukrainian liberation struggle is to work towards the destruction of the Russian empire and towards the re-establishment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state and not only for human rights, which, within an empire, would be a mere fiction and a self-deception for the oppressed nation.

Communal and other similar organisations have a right and a duty to help as much as possible the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, but have no right to appropriate for themselves the role of political representation, since that belongs to the Ukrainian political sector. Those who act otherwise hinder, and do not help, the Ukrainian liberation cause.

9. Throughout history religion and the Church have played and are playing an important role in the lives and spirits of the Ukrainian nation, and they continue to be of importance in its national religious

aspirations. Therefore it is necessary to use one's best endeavours to ensure that the Ukrainian national Churches retain their historical right to a patriarchy, which increases the national and spiritual (religious) strengths of the Ukrainian nation.

10. The relationship between the Ukrainian political parties and organisations and their consolidated activity are determined by the interests of Ukrainian liberation politics, the demands of political reality and their attitude towards the ideological position of an unsubdued Ukraine and towards the needs and requirements of her revolutionary struggle against the Russian-Bolshevik empire for her independence and sovereignty.

1978.

IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINE'S RIGHTS

In its struggle to achieve a sovereign and independent state, the Ukrainian nation simultaneously struggles to maintain the freedom for the development of its national culture, whose foundations rest upon Ukraine's 1000 year old Christianity, national laws, social justice and on the rights of man — guaranteed to the Ukrainian nation through the development of her national spirit and characteristics. Ukraine's perpetual enemy — Russian imperialism, has launched such an offensive that not only strives to prevent the revival of the Ukrainian sovereign nation, but which strives to achieve the national and cultural death of Ukraine.

With each ensuing year of Russian rule in Ukraine, the offensive of Russian imperialism and chauvinism — directed against Ukraine and against the other captive nations of the USSR, becomes stronger. With the downfall of Marxism-Leninism, Russian chauvinists are seeking to salvage their empire through the process of Russification, the end result of which is intended to be the transformation of all the captive nations of the USSR into indivisible part of the Russian nation — to masquerade under the title of the so-called "Soviet nation".

Russification in Ukraine is a mass onslaught conducted by Moscow on all areas of Ukrainian spiritual and social life. It is an attempt to destroy the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian culture, art, literature, civilisation, traditions and customs, Ukrainian churches and to subordinate them to Russian and Bolshevik rule. The enforcement of a foreign and hostile nation socio-political order, the collectivisation of peasants, the stifling of political freedoms — those granted to all free nations, coupled with the destruction of the Ukrainian legacy, the historical memory of our nation and the official introduction of a cult venerating all things Russian — including the most reactionary traditions of Russian despotism and czarism, socialist realism in literature, art, music and so on — and including the lauding

of the present, hostile national socio-political order and the adoration of Russian imperialist traditions and figures — all these are manifestations of Russia's unificatory and Russificatory politics.

The most evident manifestations of these politics lies in the plans to integrate nations; in the privileged position of the Russian language in the so-called republics, which is accompanied by the deprivation of all manner of national and human rights of Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples who are forced to reside in the RSFSR; in the re-settlement of Ukrainian patriots and the patriots of the other captive nations beyond the boundaries of their native lands — planned to lead to their colonisation and Russification. The enforced and unnatural attempt to create the "Soviet nation", i.e. a Russian super nation, has also to be included in the category of Russification politics. In reality this represents a dangerous attempt to eliminate all national differences of the captive nations into one melting pot through the use of terror.

Russification in Ukraine is implemented in various ways — through genocide, ethnocide, linguicide and cultural destruction. Thus the struggle against Russification cannot be limited to protests against the enforcement of the use of the Russian language but it must also include a protest against the whole complex of Russificatory methods, objectives and means.

The Constitution of the USSR — that single party, totalitarian and genocidal prison of nations and individuals, does not give any basis to the captive nations for the legal defence of their national rights, but is a means for the ruling nation to consolidate its rule of slavery and captivity. The most recent Soviet Constitution provides the basis for the law of an empire and clearly guarantees all rights in favour of the imperialistic Russian nation. In the light of this all the so-called republics are, without exception, colonies of Moscow, which deprives them of all their rights as separate national-territorial entities and reduces them to the status of a general reichskomissariat. The USSR never could, cannot and never can provide the basis for the Ukrainian National Republic, which during its existence, was the sovereign state of the Ukrainian nation.

The Constitution of the USSR guarantees sovereign rights to the Russian nation as the bearer of Russian imperialism; with the Communist Party centralised in Moscow, the government centralised in Moscow, the General Procurator — controlling all "republics", regions and districts centred in Moscow. All are dependent on the KGB and other agents of imperial "justice" and "law and order". This Constitution also lends a privileged position to the Russian language as the "language of Lenin", as the "only language for communication between nations" of the empire. It is a language which is used in "world civilisation, culture and science" and provides the legal "basis" for the implementation and of Russification.

Thus neither liberalisation, democratisation or evolution of the empire and system could lead to the satisfaction of the national aims of the captive nations. The realisation of national aims can only be achieved through a revolutionary, national-liberation struggle. It is only in this way that the Ukrainian nation can regain her sovereignty and independence . — a precondition for the realisation of human rights.

There is no doubt that only the collapse of the Russian empire — which its captive nations have been trying in vain for decades — can free Ukraine from all her misfortunes — inflicted by the empire. This struggle has taken on particular importance in recent time in Ukraine and in the other captive nations of the USSR.

Very recently, in May 1979, the "All-Union Scientific-Theoretical Conference" was held in Tashkent, where the main theme was "the Russian language — the language of friendship and co-operation between the nations of the USSR". The Minister of Education, M. O. Prokofyev, on behalf of the government of the USSR outlined the direction of the Russification process in education, giving particular emphasis to pre-school education and nurseries in the captive nations of the USSR. The government of the USSR is particularly concerned that the Russian language take precedence over native languages and thus places particular emphasis on the education of pre-school children. In his address the General Secretary — V. L. Brezhnev demanded total Rusification — a consequence of the "creation" of a new historic community — the Soviet nation" and the "objective necessity of a common Russian language to be used as the language of international communisation" in the Russian colonial empire. The Russifier, V. I. Lenin, to strengthen his position stated that it was necessary "to ensure that each of our citizens has the chance of learning our great(?) Russian language". The resolutions passed by the XXV Congress of the CPSU are completely in line with the plans of the Russian czarist imperialists — for example, the czarist minister D. Tolstoy decreed in 1870 that "the final aim in the education of all other nations... has to be their Russification and their merger with the Russian nation".

In accordance with the resolutions passed by the XXV Congress of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politbureau, the government of the USSR, a new racist document was produced by the agencies of the occupying regime in Ukraine — a decree issued by the Ministry of Education of the USSR in November 1978 attempts to increase the strength and number of the already strong cadres destroying Ukrainian spirituality, and in particular wishes to destroy the Ukrainian language — one of the constituent elements of Ukrainian culture. This "decree", issued in November 1978 on the order of the CPSU and the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR intends to

“perfect the teaching methods of the Russian language in schools and in the pedagogical institutions in all the republics”, with the intention of destroying Ukrainian nation and her culture.

In accordance with this decree, the Russian colonial regime has planned:

- to force Ukrainian children to learn the Russian language from the first grade of national schooling and even in pre-school classes and in the nurseries;

- to ensure that the Russian language is allotted a privileged position or status in the teaching of foreign languages in all schools and educational institutions in Ukraine, which in reality means that Russian is taught in small groups and is used for all subjects;

- to “strengthen” the already numerous cadres of Russian language teachers in Ukraine by bringing thousands of new teachers from Russia;

- to fill Ukrainian libraries with Russian text-books and Russian literature — of which they are already almost full;

- to establish separate institutions for specialisation in the Russian language in Ukraine;

- to introduce “republican” olympics of the Russian language and literature for Ukrainian schools.

The above-mentioned directives — introduced by the occupying regime, represent a new, brutal and extremely dangerous attempt by the Russian chauvinists to destroy the Ukrainian language, or culture, the spirit of our nation and in particular — the soul of our youth. In accordance with the latest imperial directives the Russification of Ukraine is now to embrace even those of pre-school education and in nurseries. The process now taking place in Ukraine is a systematic, planned fulfillment of the directives issued by the CPSU, the Politbureau and the government of the USSR.

Ukrainians living on our native land, are ringing the bell of doom. They are appealing that action be taken to defend the rights of using native language in the captive nations and justly fear that by the time of the new school year the Russian language will be the dominant language used in pre-school education and in nurseries. Such are the politics of coercion waged by Moscow over Ukraine and over the other captive nations of the USSR, and they finally reveal the true intentions of the Russian Communist Party and expose Moscow as being the centre of barbarous Russian imperialism and of the Black Hundred.

In the face of the ever-growing imperialist strength of the captive nations, in the face of wide national circles striving to realise national, social, cultural and religious rights — the Russian chauvinists and communists are attempting to save themselves by the forced increase of the number of Russians — their only hope of salvaging the empire.

The ruling Russian elite continuously arouses the appetites of the Russian chauvinists while summoning Russified officers to serve from

the numbers of the captive nations. The continuous Russification of Ukrainian school children and of the children of the other captive nations of the USSR, is an obvious way in which to educate people without national roots, to educate those who will serve the empire and ignore the legacy left by their fathers. The raising of such spiritual cripples is the sole intention of these new directives.

The Ukrainians living in the free world are duty bound to come to the help of those millions of Ukrainians living in Ukraine who are trying to struggle against the underhanded Russians. No Ukrainian organisation can refuse to fight against the reactionary new onslaught against the soul of Ukraine. Each Ukrainian organisation, each Ukrainian settled in the free world is obliged to join in the struggle to retain the sovereignty of the Ukrainian national culture.

Although the institutions and organisations concerned directly with Ukrainian culture should play a major role in these actions, the over all action should be directed and led by national-political formations until that time that the nation-destroying empire itself is destroyed and the nations at present enslaved by the USSR, regain their national sovereignty. The struggle to attain the free development of Ukrainian culture is indissolubly connected to the struggle for the national freedom of the Ukrainian nation.

This is why we, appeal to all Ukrainian political groups to join us in this systematic struggle to retain the rights of our culture, and why we appeal to all international, regional, professional, youth, womens' religious and all other Ukrainian patriotic organisations and institutions, and in particular to the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

We consider the following to be the main means of helping Ukrainians living on Ukrainian soil struggling against Moscow's imperialism and chauvinism:

- the printed word, meetings, conferences aiming to mobilise the Ukrainian community and making them aware of the seriousness of the threat posed to the future of Ukrainian culture by the new directives issued by the colonial regime in Ukraine;

- statements addressed to educational institutes such as the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Catholic University, the Ukrainian Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, the Mazeppa-Mohyla Academy and the other numerous Ukrainian societies centered at various universities in the free world, in which the genocidal aims and resolutions of the decrees passed by the Central Committee of the CPSU are condemned;

- through co-operation with the emigre groups of the other captive nations of the USSR with the aim of forming a common front in defence of national rights and cultural activities;

- the organisation of mass demonstrations in front of the embassies

and consulates of the USSR in order to protest against Moscow's racist and genocidal politics;

— informing the public about the resolutions passed by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politbureau and the government of the USSR — ensuring that this information reach the governments, parliaments, scientific and social circles in the West; the members of the United Nations — with the aim of enlisting their support and co-operation in our struggle against anti-national and cultural politics of the government of the USSR;

— we must appeal to the various Russian circles that are also opposed to the imperialist politics of the Soviet Union that they join us in our struggle against Moscow's attempts to destroy the national cultures of the captive nations of the USSR;

— we must use every means available to us in our battle against Russification — in all its forms;

— we must ensure that information about our activities against the racist imperial-colonial decrees and genocidal politics of Moscow are known to the Ukrainian nation;

— let us initiate a mass action based on an international forum against the Olympics to be held in Moscow in 1980 — in the land of concentration camps, psychiatric prisons, where religious, political and cultural activists are murdered (the rev. Lutsky, rev. Luchkiv, Mykhaylo Soroka, V. Ivasiuk, M. Melnyk, Alla Horská), the land where national and human rights are denied.

A worthy response to the new repression in Ukraine ought to be an increased concern for the fate of Ukrainian culture and language abroad, where it is imperative to increase the number of Ukrainian schools and to raise the standard of education there; to disseminate the Ukrainian press and literature; to preserve the Ukrainian character of our Churches and our faiths; to ensure that the Ukrainian language, culture, civilisation, art and traditions remain embedded deeply in the hearts of each Ukrainian living abroad.

Let the Ukrainian community use every means available to defend Ukrainian cultural and national activists in Ukraine and help those who oppose Russification and genocide, those who defend Ukrainian national and human rights and those who are languishing in prisons and concentration camps — people such as Yurko Shukhevych, Levko Lukyanenko, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Oksana Popovych, Iryna Senyk, and countless others, and in particular the former members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Let us act as one united body on this the 60th anniversary of the Act of the Unification of Ukrainian Lands and let us show our unwavering spirit in the fight to achieve our own national spiritual, cultural and national life and let us show our strength and repel the attack of the Russian colonial-imperial, racist chauvinists.

FIRST SAMIZDAT PUBLICATION FROM BYELORUSSIA

A document entitled Letter to a Russian Friend has recently reached the West and is an impassioned plea against the assimilation of the Byelorussian language by the Russian language.

This is the first samizdat publication from Byelorussia to reach the West. It was written in April 1977 and circulated in Byelorussia in typescript form.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is one of the 15 constituent republics of the Soviet Union. It borders in the West on Poland and is surrounded on other sides by the Ukrainian, Russian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet republics. Established in January 1919 with Minsk as its capital, its present-day territory consists of 207,600 sq. kilometers (80,200 sq. miles) and is inhabited by over 9 Million people, more than 80 per cent of whom are Byelorussians. According to its new constitution which came into force on 14 April 1978, as well as the one that preceded it, the Byelorussian SSR is a 'sovereign socialist state' which 'voluntarily and on the basis of equality' joined other Soviet republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Art. 68). It has, however, retained the right of 'free secession from the USSR' (Art. 69) and the power 'to conclude treaties with foreign countries, establish diplomatic and consular relations, and take part in the work of international organisations' (Art. 74).

Many of the problems faced by the occupied Byelorussian people with respect to Russification of language and culture are shared by the Ukrainian people. Below we reprint excerpts from the Byelorussian document.

Such is the Byelorussian nation — a nation which, as past and modern times have shown, is no slave and is not dumb. From the viewpoint of the Byelorussian nation the question you have posed simply does not exist, because it gives no sign of going dumb. The question arose not among Byelorussians, but quite apart from their historical growth and in spite of it.

It has been raised by those who look on Byelorussians more or less as a carpenter looks at an unplanned plank of wood with the aim of planing it down to the kind of smoothness that a woodworker thinks correct.

First the Polish king tried to plane my nation down to a shiny catholicised petty nobleman. Then the Muscovite tsar, a fellow Orthodox, came to correct the efforts of his Polish colleague and 'doctored' the wounded Byelorussian organism by trying to breathe into it the great-power spirit of a 'real' Great Russian. It is paradoxical that these dilligent efforts were made by 'Great Russians' with a considerable admixture of Germanic blood. We cannot know

whether this Prussian style doctoring would have ended in the extermination of the Byelorussians' living spirit, if history had not been mean with time for the Russian emperor's veterinary experiments by cutting short the life of the double-headed eagle. It is conceivable that, if history had not been in a hurry, there would have been one language less on our planet of 2700 languages and that the 'great and powerful one' would have been one dialect richer. I do not know if the Russian language would have gained by this, since excessive dialect overloading is hardly of benefit even to the most powerful languages, but human culture as a whole would have been the poorer.

The Polish king's efforts lasted for 300-odd years, the Russian tsar's for 150 years. For almost 500 years they tried, each in his own fashion, to make my nation into something 'real' after it had been abandoned and betrayed by its upper and middle strata. They did not succeed. The Byelorussian nation remained what it was, faithful to its predetermined purpose, but it emerged spiritually broken from its long subjection to inquisitorial experiments, virtually without writers, historians, philosophers, artists, composers of its own.

For 400 years it was allowed to give birth to Kosciuszko, Mickiewiczes and Dostoevskys on behalf of its more powerful neighbours. It was not, however, permitted to pass on to its children its own language and, through language, the spirit and wisdom of the nation. Children grew up oblivious of who their parents were; generations arose that could no longer remember their name and origin. Byelorussians came to have serious doubts about their own identity and thus became an ethnographical oddity virtually in the middle of Europe — a peasant people calling themselves the 'locals'.

The conditions of socialist construction which ensured the national and social revival of the Byelorussian nation have not always been propitious. From the 60 years of Soviet power one must subtract 20 years of territorial division of the Byelorussian organism (the period during which Western Byelorussia was under the heel of bourgeois Poland), 7 years for two wars which ploughed up the whole country, 10 years for post-war normalisation (when the problems of getting bread to eat and a roof over one's head were paramount). This leaves just over 20 years, and even this period was not devoid of extremes and the usual kind of chicanery in national policy.

In this short period a considerable number of factories and towns have been built in Byelorussia, marshes have been drained (although this drainage is said to have been taken too far and to have become the equivalent of complete dessication), social welfare has been guaranteed. There was no time, indeed there could not have been time, to complete the national revival, the most important factor of which would have been the achievement of a linguistic and national culture affecting everyone. If this were to be brought about, it would

be a time in which Byelorussian literary speech returns, not to the palaces of magnates and chancellors, but to the offices of judges and politicians, to committee rooms, kindergartens, schoolrooms and student lecture halls, theatres and clubs (and not only to be heard on the stage), to the streets and squares of our towns and villages. In short, when it has been transformed from a mere ornament into the living tissue of social life, when it would be as natural to hear Byelorussian in a trolleybus or shop in the Byelorussian capital as it is today to hear mangled Russian which reminds one more of a dialect than the original language. When at last we would have attained the right kind of national and linguistic climate, without which our Byelorussian Romeos and Juliets will be eternally bereft of speech.

It is difficult to say when a Byelorussian generation will grow up completely cured of their linguistic inferiority complex, and unashamed of their national identity. However, the formation of this generation is today no longer an idle dream but a living reality which is pushing up its young shoots towards the sun on the rejuvenated 'Byelorussian cornfield'. Faced with this irreversible process, politicians can either hasten it or slow it down; unfortunately they more often choose the latter course of action. The one thing they cannot do is to alter its inner logic even by introducing laws that frequently lead to lawlessness.

The 'protectors' of the equal rights of both languages in Byelorussia somehow cannot grasp that this 'equality' proceeds from an *unequal* starting point, and that the stronger of the two languages is in fact being offered more privileges.* They apparently think of themselves as marxist-leninists but do not understand that after many centuries of persecution that have retarded and deformed the Byelorussian language, the first thing required is to remove an actual inequality — the enormous historical and cultural disproportion in the levels of both languages, to ensure a 'levelling out of levels' in accordance with the principles of socialism as understood by Marx and Lenin. Do not withhold privileges of food and clothing for yesterday's 'ugly duckling'; only when it has gained strength and can use its wings to soar upwards to join its fully-grown fellows can your procuritorial 'impermissibility' have any meaning.

Even if 'demands of the moment' or 'the Devil's due' are capable of obscuring the historical perspective for certain individual politicians, the perspective itself does not disappear.

The 1930s were remarkable for a frontal assault on the young, as yet untried strength of the Byelorussian intelligentsia (Haretski, Ihnautouski, Aleksandrovich, Schakatsikhin, Halavach, Charot and others).

* Of 88 journals published in Byelorussia 53 appears in Russian and 30 in Byelorussian. The corresponding figures for the Ukraine are: total 185, 75 in Russian, 108 in Ukrainian. Unlike the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians have no historical journal, no foreign literature publishing house etc., etc., of their own.

The 'legislators' of the period were apparently unable to realize that their ever so revolutionary attack on 'bourgeois nationalism' in socialist Byelorussian was not far removed from the most rabid counterrevolution, hiding its dirty work under the red banner. They could not know that some 25 years later their victims would be rehabilitated, although the real instigators and perpetrators of this 20th century *Neroniad* have not yet been named. It will be some time before Byelorussian culture recovers from the destruction of its first generation of intelligentsia in the coal and gold mines of the far north and eastern Siberia.

As we can see, even a socially just system is powerless when politics become divorced from morality. It is in the interests of a more favourable development for our native language and much else besides to overcome this situation. The Byelorussian intelligentsia could help much more than it does, but, as you know, they suffer from the ailment of not having a language. Here lie both their guilt and their misfortune. This is perhaps one of the most urgent problems of Byelorussian national life. The indisposition of the intelligentsia can in turn be explained by the (to put it mildly) delicate position of the Byelorussian language which, while not being persecuted, is not exactly encouraged either. Where is the way out this vicious circle, if indeed there is one at all? I believe there is one. It lies in the creation of truly equal conditions for both languages — if favours to one of them are 'impermissible'.

What happens in practice? After 400 years of persecution our native language has at last been permitted to exist alongside Russian, but on terms that remind one somehow of the conditions on which a dependant lives (and in his own house!); it has been squeezed out of all areas of education: pre-schooling (in the cities) partly from schools, and from professional, special secondary and higher education. It has not been allowed to gain a hold in the party and government apparatus which controls the official life of the republic.*

In time the Byelorussian intelligentsia will show the world that its ability to communicate with other nations arises from its own national values and not apart from them, and that an internationalism that tries to rise above national identities has as much to do with socialist society as do the innumerable 'nests of gentlefolk' and 'homes of the poor' — the country and city palaces of the "people's servants",

*) However, the once youthful revolution was on the verge of making the first and, as it turned out, the last steps in this direction by raising the question of the 'further intensification and broadening of Byelorussification in the Party and Soviet apparatus' Putting forward the slogan 'May the whole Communist Party of Byelorussia begin to speak in Byelorussian'. (11th congress of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, Minsk, 1923, p. 424. (In Byelorussian.)) The Byelorussian party organisation is probably the only one of all the republics that does not use its own language in its meeting and conferences. I do not believe that this 'Internationalist' feature will remain unshaken for long. In private conversation and at times when they really need to express their feelings people are more and more beginning to unburden their souls in their own irreplaceable language.

who reside on the people's body only until the people say their final 'That's enough!' My faith has been bolstered by those physicists who are touring the country and rescuing the paintings of ancient Palessie from technological barbarism; even they were too late to save the remains of Dostoevsky's estate. In their actions one can see the future of the Byelorussian intelligentsia in the widest sense of the word.

By placing our principle hopes on the intelligentsia, no-one wishes to belittle the importance of other social groups of Byelorussian society in completing the national revival. It may however be supposed that any increase in the role of workers, specialists, civil servants, professional soldiers etc. in this process is dependant on the extent to which they assimilate the higher values of their national culture, above all the literary language. This promising development, which the technological revolution is itself accelerating, is now taking shape before our very eyes. We have only to watch and listen carefully for it. There are many signs pointing to the rise in the near future of a united national front, which will be called upon to complete the work started in Byelorussia by Bahushevich and Kupala, Lenin and Charvykou. Then my nation will have come to recognize and understand its destiny, that 'measure of perfection', it will have become master in its own house and will hardly allow itself to be forced into alien linguistic clothing. It will more easily fulfill its destiny in its own truly Byelorussian dress.

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Taras SCHEVCHENKO

CHRISTMAS DAY

Below we print a translation made in 1933 of a poem by the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

The poem was written by Shevchenko whilst in exile at Kos-Aral near the Aral Sea, in 1848.

When you're not going at night
From one place to another,
And sleep has gone from you in flight —
Remember me, dear brother.
And when your lonesomeness and grief
Won't leave you for a price,
Why, then, just think of me, friend,
And call me for advice.
It's then that you should think of how
Beside a distant sea,
Your friend of friends, so happy once,
Fights with his destiny;
How he, with just his hidden thoughts
And with his humble heart,
Walks wimlessly and prays to God
To lighten some his lot;
Whose thoughts drift often to Ukraine,
Who thinks of you, my friend,
And sometimes worries for a while —
Not much — you understand.
You see, it's but a day away
When Christmas will be Hail'd —
How hard it is to meet this day
When you are alone and jailed
In the desert.
Bright and early
Tomorrow, in Ukraine,
The bells will ring and people'll sing
To God a sweet refrain.
And tomorrow, bright and early,
Somewhere along the plain,
A hurgly beast will introduce
A chilling hurricane;

To bring and blow the sand and snow
Around my hut of clay.
That is the way that i shall meet
The Holy Christmas Day.
So what is there to do? Life's here
In which we all must grope
And struggle to the end. My friend,
If you should ever mope,
Just know what's written on the sheet:
That on this early isle
The only life that's hard to meet
Is desert-bound exile . . .
And man, though poorly, lives there too,
What else is there to do?
Unless to die — but hope, good man,
Refuses to comply.

Translated by Volodymyr Semenyina, 1933.

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SONG OUT OF DARKNESS

Poems by Taras Shevchenko, the greatest
Ukrainian national poet (1814-1861),
translated into English by Vera Rich.

The Mitre Press, London, 1961, xxxii + 128 pp. Illustrations.
Price 80p net. \$2.50

Order from: **Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,**
49, Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ukrainian Nationalism by John A. Armstrong, U.S.A., Columbia University Press, 361 p.p., 1963, reprint 1980.

* * *

This is a dramatic account of the courageous nationalists' struggle to establish Ukrainian independence during World War II, while powers fought for control of Eastern Europe. A major scholarly work, it is based on numerous personal interviews, extensive files of contemporary newspapers, and countless unpublished documents.

The original work (published in 1955), dealing with the 1939-1945 period, was revised and expanded in 1963 to include such postwar developments as: the armed struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) against Soviet Russia in the years 1945-1950, the Russian policy following the UPA's defeat, and further activities of the Ukrainian emigration. In Professor Armstrong's words: "If one takes into account duration, geographical extent, and intensity of activity, the UPA very probably is the most important example of forceful resistance to Communist rule".

Hailed by scholars as "brilliant", "courageous and informative", Professor Armstrong's book has become the classic work on the subject of nationalism in Ukraine. Out of print and unavailable for over ten years, it is now available from the Ukrainian Academic Press in a reprint of the 2nd edition published in 1963 by Columbia University Press.

"John Armstrong's excellent study is remarkably comprehensive in covering the conditions under which Ukrainian nationalists in Eastern Europe operated during World War II". (George Barr Carson, Jr., *The American Slavic and East European Review*, 1956, vol 15).

Dr. John A. Armstrong is Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and former President of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. He received his PhD and the Certificate from the Russian Institute at Columbia University. A well-known scholar of Soviet affairs, he is the author of numerous publications, among them: *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*; *The Politics of Totalitarianism*; *Ideology, Politics and Government in the Soviet Union*; *Soviet Partisans in World War II*; and *The European Administrative Elite*.

Strategy for Survival. Arlington House, 1978. by Brian Crozier 224 p.
Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Brian Crozier, who is Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, has written an expanded study of his *Security and the Myth of "Peace"*, *Surviving the Third World War* (No. 76 of Conflict Study Series).

The author asserts that World War III has begun in April 1944 (the date of the Communist-led mutiny in the Greek Navy in Alexandria Harbour) and is fought mainly with non-military techniques: subversion, disinformation, terrorism, psychological war and diplomacy. This war, according to the author, is a unilateral war of expansion from the Soviet land mass "with the rest of the world at the receiving end".

The strategy for survival, asserts the author, must rest on the premise that victory is attainable and that weaknesses within the Soviet Union must be exploited.

Mr. Crozier establishes three guiding principles that should be adapted by any country that wishes to defend itself: recognize that the threat from the Soviet Union is not only external but internal; inform the public about the existence of the threat; institute emergency measures reducing traditional liberties of individuals to help combat the threat.

Revolution and Survival: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1917-1918
by Richard Debo, University of Toronto Press, 1971. 462 p.
Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Although this book deals with the diplomatic history of only one year of post-Revolutionary Russia, it touches on many other factors that influence foreign affairs: military, ideological, economic and personality. The author's main thesis is that foreign policy considerations during 1918 were the main factors in determining and shaping the nature of the Soviet state. Dr. Debo, besides discussing in detail domestic policies, Lenin's personality and tactics in dealing with various crises and his relationship with Trotsky, provides the reader with a thorough analysis of the 7th Party Congress, which ratified the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

The book contains an encompassing bibliography and a thorough index, but the inclusion of maps would have been welcome.

The Catholic Church and the Soviet Government, 1938-1949. by Denis J. Dunn, Columbia University Press, 1977. 267 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

This monograph deals with the various aspects of the relationship between the Soviet government and the Catholic Church (both Latin and Uniate) in the period immediately before and after World War II. The author primarily bases his research on the recently made available *Actes et Documents du Saint Siege relatifs a la seconde guerre mondiale*, since Soviet sources on this topic are still sparse.

Dr. Dunn analyses distinct phases of Soviet policy toward the Catholic Church: non-violent administrative harassment characterized the period 1941-1944; forcible reunification of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church was the highlight of the period 1944-1946; toleration towards the Latin Churches in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia was practised during 1944-1948 but came to an abrupt end in 1948, with the onset of the Cold War.

The book has extensive footnotes and bibliography and is a useful addition to the literature dealing with religion in the USSR and in the Soviet Bloc.

The Third World War by General Sir John Hackett, Macmillan, 1978, 368 p.

The book, which is a best seller in England, is edited by Sir John Hackett, an outstanding soldier-scholar and contains contributions by top-ranking NATO officers and advisors.

The work opens with a description of events of August 4, 1985 that precipitated the Third World War and goes on to examine the course of the war, the weapons used and the causes and consequences of the conflict.

The battle, which is waged between the NATO and Warsaw Pact Forces lasts three weeks, with the Soviet forces having an upper hand in the beginning. Then, by August 13 the tide turns and the NATO Forces, bolstered by the entry of reserves and the arrival of convoys, begin to have some successes. The Soviet Union is also hindered in its war effort by unrest among the Soviet Republics, with the crushing blow coming from an unexpected quarter, the Ukrainian SSR. Ukraine not only secedes from the USSR and declares independence, but encourages all the other republics to do the same.

Because the book is written by authors who are military experts, it has a ring of authenticity and realism, bolstered by American think-tank reports and "captured" Soviet memoranda. It is readable, fascinating and frightening.

Human Rights and American Foreign Policy. by Donald P. Kommers and Gilbert D. Loescher, University of Notre Dame Press, 1979. 333 p.p.
Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

It appears that the title of this monograph only partially reflects its contents, since only 87 pages out of 325 pages are devoted to a discussion of human rights "as a significant component of American foreign policy".

The book is divided into seven parts, each dealing with a different aspect of human rights. A general discussion of the state of human rights in the world is presented in Part I, while in Part II Vernon Van Dyke polemizes with the liberals, who defend the human rights of individuals but not the right of nations or ethnic communities to self-determination. Part III of the book "Human Rights: Conflicting Ideologies" discusses the concept of

human rights among First and Third World states. Two articles (Peter Reddaway's and A. H. Robertson's) make up Part IV, which is devoted to human rights in the Second World, i.e. the Soviet Union. Peter Reddaway, Professor of Government, University of London, in his article "Theory and Practice in the Soviet Union" deals with the Soviet theory of human rights, the genesis and development of an unofficial rights movement in the Soviet Union as well as with specific areas of conflict between the regime and the dissidents. A. H. Robertson, Professor of Law University of Paris, examines in detail the provisions of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Part V the monitoring of human right by non-government agencies is explored, while Part VI and Part VII deal with the relationship of human rights and American foreign policy.

Each part is preceeded by an encompassing introduction by the editors, while a short bibliography can be found at the end of each part.

Eurocommunism and Detente. by Rudolf Tokes, New York University Press, 1979. 578 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Eight internationally known scholars have contributed chapters to this thorough and thoughtful study of Eurocommunism. Pierre Hassner provides the introductory chapter, in which he discusses the core of the controversy surrounding Eurocommunism: has it contributed to the Europeanization of communism or a communization of Europe? The next four chapters discuss the Communist parties of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal as well as the changes (ideological, social and organizational) which occurred in these parties during the last twenty or thirty years.

The last four chapters discuss Eurocommunism within the context of Western and European politics, focusing on such specific issues as detente, relations with the United States, etc.

This is an extremely interesting and enlightening book, both for specialists and readers not familiar with the subject.

The Unfinished Revolution: Marxism and Communism in the Modern World. by Adam B. Ulam Rev. ed. Westview Press, 1979. 287 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Marxism has been one of the most widespread ideological phenomena of our time, but rarely, if ever, can it be found in its pure form. Marxist ideology, as a contender for power, seeks to express the aspirations and dreams of societies entering the period of modernization and industrialization. Having attained power, Marxist ideology tends to pay lip service to its ideological pronouncements. Marxism in practice is very far removed from Marxism in theory.

In this revised edition of his classic treatise on Marxism, Professor Ulam an outstanding scholar of Marxism and the Soviet Union, examines the relationship of Marxism to contemporary socialism and to other radical and revolutionary theories; he also traces the development of Marxism thought and explains why it has been influential in certain societies, while insignificant in others. Professor Ulam analyses the effects of Marxism and Leninism on Soviet Communism and examines Marxism's role in the future, both in the West and in the Soviet Union.

UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS HANDBOOK

A handbook about Ukrainian communities throughout the world has been published for the benefit of some two million Ukrainians and their descendants in the free world. This 350 page book provides information about Ukrainian settlements in some 30 countries.

There are facts about the history of the communities abroad, their religious and cultural life, and present community activities. Described are the Ukrainians in Europe, the U. S., Canada, South America, Australia, and even Asia. For quick reference a chapter on contemporary Ukraine is included. The text is in Ukrainian, but the addresses and bibliographical references are in native languages. Statistical information may also be followed by the English-speaking readers.

The editorial board includes A. Milanytch, prof. V. Bandera (Temple University), Dr., I. Huryn, and prof. W. Isajiw (Toronto University). A summary of findings was written by the Canadian sociologist and expert on ethnic minorities Dr. Isajiw.

The book was prepared under the auspices of the Ukrainian Centre for Social Research and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York.

Orders can be placed with Ukr. Center for Social Research, 203 2nd Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003. The price is \$12.90

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The character and world outlook of General Shukhevych was formed in the aftermath of the First World War in the time which saw the birth and growth of modern Ukrainian nationalism. In all three periods of his character formation — his time in the Ukrainian Liberation Organisation, the time up till the Second World War and the period of the war and after — Roman Shukhevych took a very active part in events and the construction of the nationalist movement and consequently strengthened the basis for the future philosophical and political development of Ukraine's national liberation struggle.

Roman Shukhevych's whole life was full of risks and danger. He lived restlessly but was unflinching in the line of battle becoming with time increasingly resolute until he stood at the forefront of the Ukrainian revolution. In that sense his life can be encapsulated within two dates, 1926 and 1950. The first date marked a watershed in Ukraine's military action — the assassination of the representative of Polish imperialism, Inspector Sobinsky and the second the time of his death whilst leading Ukraine's fight for freedom.

Between those dates several states tried to destroy him. Between those two dates he faced the wrath and vindictiveness of his enemies to which he replied by hitting back at their most sensitive parts and revealing himself to be a master of military craft. His life followed the path of a legendary knight struggling for liberation, without fear and unflinching. He fought fiercely against five occupiers of Ukraine — the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans and Russians.

The focus of General Shukhevych's attentions was the idea of Ukrainian sovereignty over her own territories as the precondition to any further developments. He propagated the principles of sovereignty, of a strong army.

As one of the moving forces behind Ukraine's proclamation of independence on June 30, 1941, and as vice-Minister for War in the Ukrainian National Government he helped lay the foundations for Ukraine's battle on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Russia.

His part in the Ukrainian revolution bears the proud name of the All-National Uprising which lasted from 1942 to 1953 — a full three years after his death. And that is why, taking history into account, Roman Shukhevych emerges as the organiser and commander in very unfavourable circumstances of an all-national armed struggle and the creator of a unique, glory-steeped period of the Ukrainian people, etched in blood by the battles of the OUN and UPA.

This period in the life of the Ukrainian nation has no equal in Ukrainian or world history. It is unique from the standpoint of mass heroism and patriotism, from the standpoint of the commitment and self-sacrifice of its participants and the Ukrainian masses and the standpoint of the terrible conditions under which the struggle was waged. It will always be one of the most glorious and heroic chapters of Ukrainian history.

In that spirit General Shukhevych analysed on October 14, 1947, five years

of the struggle that had passed. He wrote, "The fearless commanders and fighters of UPA have inscribed on their banners a series of battle honours which will be inscribed in golden letters in the history of Ukraine. The punishing hand of the UPA soldier has sought even the most prestigious representatives of the occupant such as the Nazi SA chief Lutze, the commander of the "First Ukrainian Front" Vatutin and the Polish vice-Minister of War Sverchevsky. UPA's forces often overran the enemy's centres, they penetrated our own and the enemy's territory by long-distance raids and they harassed the enemy with attacks and ambushes thereby denying them the chance to carry out plans to destroy the Ukrainian people. The names of such as Hrehit-Rizun, Yastrub, Yasen, Storchan, Prut, Konyk, Peremoha, and Khrin (Pseudonyms of resistance leaders — Ed.) have carried Ukraine's name far beyond her borders.

Gen. Shukhevych added, "Soldiers and commanders of UPA. You are today engaged in armed conflict with the Bolsheviks and you who have filled the ranks of the revolutionary underground will be aware that the heroic, five-year struggle of the UPA and the revolutionary underground is the most heroic period in the history of Ukraine. Be sure that the history of the world does not know of another such heroic fight. Your struggle throws into the shadows the fight of the heroes of Thermopylae. Fresh Ukrainian generations will grow up imbued with the spirit of the heroism of UPA and the revolutionary underground. The UPA warrior and the Ukrainian revolutionary will take the place in history of the noble Spartan".

Roman Shukhevych was elected chief of the OUN bureau in the summer of 1943 and general commander of the UPA forces in the autumn of that year. He then organised a conference of captive nations in the Volyn region of Ukraine which was the genesis of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations. By July 1944 all the civil and military power of Fighting Ukraine were concentrated in General Shukhevych's hands.

And here lies the historic role and significance of Roman Shukhevych, a soldier, the organiser of the UPA — the armed wing of the Ukrainian people — the leader of the OUN and the chief general secretary of the Ukrainian revolutionary government. The best sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation, serving under his command, filled with heroism the period of the Second World War and after in Ukrainian history and strengthened the resolve of the Ukrainian people to struggle for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian nation.

The struggle created a massive reserve of morale for the continuation of the fight on Ukrainian soil and the political struggle abroad. It also provided a titanic strength for those incarcerated in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps who call forth the admiration and wonderment of foreigners by their fortitude and by their declarations in "samvydav" calling for national and human rights for the Ukrainian people.

As an unrivalled master of revolutionary strategy and tactics Roman Shukhevych reorganised his forces in post-war years which brought the

following admiring remarks from Stepan Bandera, "This reorganisation once more testifies to the extraordinary talents of leadership possessed by Roman Shukhevych. With foresight he has planned and slowly but surely is carrying out changes in fighting tactics. The emphasis is shifting increasingly from a military to a political-propagandist stance. The UPA's units and operations are shrinking and instead the underground OUN and its networks are being extended. The commanders and soldiers of OUN are once more returning to the OUN model of operating. All of this is being done consciously by Roman Shukhevych as commander of UPA and leader of OUN in Ukraine. In the same way as the UPA came out of the OUN and the struggle of UPA was guided by the plans and ideas of OUN, UPA is returning into the fold of the OUN until it is time once more for it unfurl its banners.

That is why Ukraine's struggle for freedom did not cease with Roman Shukhevych's death. UPA's fighters returned to the Ukrainian masses or were dragged through the numerous, multi-national Soviet Russian concentration camps always preaching their fiery message of a coordinated national uprising which will eventually topple the empire into its constituent national parts.

The next period of Ukrainian history was built on the foundations laid down by the OUN-UPA. 1953-59 saw the concentration camp uprisings responsible for the so-called Khrushchev thaw and then in the sixties and seventies the national regeneration of the Ukrainian people.

Amongst this Ukrainian generation, amongst those persecuted, tortured, imprisoned but still uncompromising and unbroken we find Yuriy Shukhevych, the dignified son of the great General Shukhevych who has become a symbol for young Ukrainians a heroic figure for whom in the words of a poet "nobility and honour come before all else". His faith in his father who fell on the field of battle continues to sustain Yuriy Shukhevych who has become a symbol of the continuity of the struggle for Ukraine's independence waged by successive generations.

The OUN now calls on all Ukrainians and Ukraine's sympathisers to struggle for Yuriy Shukhevych's freedom in this the 30th anniversary of his father's death and to remember the words of General Shukhevych which still have so much significance today — "Fighting Ukraine demands of the Ukrainian emigration a complete unity. Not a unity in words but a unity in deeds. Actual deeds, not pieces of paper, a unity based on the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation".

The OUN swears that filled with the courage, optimism and revolutionary spirit of General Roman Shukhevych the OUN will continue the struggle until complete victory and the creation of a Ukrainian independent and sovereign state.

*The Leadership of the Organisation
of Ukrainian Nationalists*

For more information about Yuriy Shukhevych see other articles in this issue.

NEWS AND DOCUMENTS

FROM UKRAINE

Oles BERDNYK

UKRAINE'S CROWN OF THORNS

(AN OPEN EPISTLE TO RUSSIA OF THE PAST, PRESENT
AND FUTURE)

Russia!

... 325 years ago in Pereyaslav we promised one another fraternity, unity, loyalty. Since that disturbing day each of us has sown numerous different seeds in the earth of several generations.

It is now the fourth century, Russia, that we have treaded a common field, reaping the harvests bequeathed to us by our ancestors. But what do those harvests bring?

A single reply shall come from the stage of the socialist market: Ukraine and Russia are equals among equals, two big sisters growing, blossoming and reaching towards golden heights. Ukraine yields so much steel, iron and coal, bread and meat, publishes an avalanche of books, has so many million students, academics, heroes of labour.

However, these poster acclamations, Russia, have exhausted Ukraine's spirit. She rejects them with repugnance and without fear.

Look at me, Russia, and you shall see a crown of thorns!

Yes, the result of the long union of our nations is the Golgotha of Ukraine — plundered, tortured, profaned, crucified.

Don't hurry to rage, Russia! Contemplate and consider the past: your spiritual downfall and our dishonour began on that day when we, not recognising the venomous soul of the Muscovite tyrants, opened Ukraine's Golden Gates to foreign hordes.

What flowed through our Golden Gates to you, Russia, and what did I gain? Everything happened on a historical plane — nothing can be concealed.

You received our rich lands, Russia, and in addition, our toiling hands and creative souls, the equals of whom there are few in the world. You ruthlessly devoured our riches and shamelessly engulfed Ukraine's creative genii, claiming their precedence and fame for yourselves. You concealed the squalor and worthlessness of your czars and their henchmen with our songs, our academic achievements, the supremacy of our noble ancestors. And in return? ..

You destroyed the cradle of freedom — the Zaporizhian Sich, that wonderous creation of Evolution that could have brought forward the age of freedom and state life by several centuries. You took everything that was connected with the history of the Zaporizhian spiritual giants — their

heraldry, archives, legends, songs. You put a veto on their very memory because you feared their resurrection in the spiritual sphere of the present.

It is not necessary to reiterate all the facts and names in this dialogue: the archives in your police catacombs contain everything needed to refresh your memory. Thus I mention only the essential.

While in union with you, the Ukrainian nation has had to struggle for her sovereignty and freedom, and through that struggle, she has strengthened her soul, created songs and a high level of cosmic omnipotence. We did not plunder foreign riches, nor did we occupy foreign lands. Yearning for our own freedom, we respected the freedom of our neighbours. We did not construct prisons, entrench our frontiers, make slaves of free men. And if by chance some Ukrainian elder became a magnate and enthused over the feudal privileges granted to the nobility, he himself destroyed the bond between him and the soul of mother-Ukraine, and became her enemy and the servant of our aggressive neighbours.

Because of our own sincerity, we expected our neighbours to have the same spiritual nature as ours. This was an appalling error.

The law of joined vessels illustrates the historical situation of our unification. Muscovy's spiritual and economic vacuum irresistibly sucked everything that was worthy and famous in Ukraine into itself. In order to prevent the freedom-loving heart of the Ukrainian nation retaliating against her traitors and hypocrites, it was imperative for Muscovy to destroy Ukraine's eternal source of strength and freedom — the legacy of the kozaks and kobzars — the two wings of the Ukrainian genius.

Oh, how mercilessly you, Russia, attempted to destroy, plunder, pluck the feathers from those iridescent wings!

You clipped the kozaks' wing immediately — and most brutally! And the dispersed remains of those noble men were scattered into obscurity: the recalcitrant were dammed in Finnish and Siberian waste lands, while the meek were bounded by their Kavkaz frontiers, and waged war against the tempting eastern territories.

It was more difficult to clip the wings of the kobzars: their amputation took several life-times. This was because their source of creativity flowed from the bottomless well of the heart of the nation. However, your sorcerer's soul, Russia, knew that this was your fundamental task because while the kobzars' wings still soar the air, the possibility of the kozaks' wings being regenerated, reborn, still exists.

You began to drink from and drain the creative well of Ukraine. Like canker worms you poisoned our nation with Peter's and Catherine's mongrels and with your warewolves. From being once the most enlightened nation in Europe, we sank to the lowest circles of the inferno: hell's servants did not know how to inflict such damage to Ukraine's heart to kill it and to finally destroy the iridescence of the creative wing.

In that critical age, only the phenomenon of Shevchenko saved Ukraine from degradation and resurrected the iridescent wings of the genii of our

beloved nation. This was the miraculous triumph whose source emanated from the creativity of the heart of the Spiritual-Sphere.

The fury of the hostile spirit of Russia was amazing. However, it was too late to retaliate: prohibition could only have succeeded in sparking the flames of rebirth. Your venomous sorcerer's soul chose another path — the path of acknowledgement and our introduction into your programme. The prophet who is embraced by the enemy loses nearly all his revolutionary strength!

The deep social upheavals of the twentieth century did not bring Ukraine her resurrection: all her creative powers were absorbed by a cunning game of political intrigues: some of us died on the battle field, some fell with crushed skulls in the cellars of the CHEKA and Gestapo, others died in the Siberian camps, others chose the path of Pereyaslav — the path of dishonour and servitude.

The experience of three centuries of servitude and humiliation have shown that one error, one hesitation results in a chain reaction of mistakes affecting the future. That what is done today, cannot be undone tomorrow. The black seeds of betrayal and fear grow into thistles and a decay from which it is difficult to recover.

The conclusion is such: every nation must decide its own fate itself. It should not permit other nations to take the ruling initiative.

It is better to die a hero than live as a slave!

We were bequeathed such a noble testament — and scorned it! A century of slavery was our punishment for betraying our spiritual freedom.

But you, Russia, don't rejoice and dance on the pile of plucked iridescent feathers! Those wings that you clipped have not grown organically onto your venomous body. You have burdened yourself with crimes, decline, betrayals from which you cannot be redeemed — not by any of your saints and devotees. You became a giant prison of nations and chose not to destroy that prison after the October Revolution, but instead you strengthened the spectre of brutality you held even more.

You still hold that spectre and use it against Ukraine over and over again — over the demented Virgin who placed the wedding ring on her finger so indiscreetly.

Who shall measure the ocean of suffering in which Ukraine swims? Who shall describe the suffering of the millions who starved in the forced famine of 1933? Who shall portray the agonies of those who were innocently shot between 1933 and 1939? Who shall spiritually embrace the immeasurable world of humiliation, injustice, degradation, imprisonments, the unknown number of murdered people, the starved, the loss of idealism — that world which became the historical phantom of Ukraine, its curse and its incessant reality?!

Thousands of impoverished poets, artists, thinkers... And thousands and thousands of exhausted, bribed, and terrified people!

In this epoch, when all the nations of the Earth are seeking freedom and

finding paths towards it, you, Russia, throw a noose over Ukraine's neck and mercilessly stangle her in order to destroy the memory of her glorious past and the cosmic calling of her existence!

And even now, when the son of Ukraine, Korolov, opens the Gates of the Cosmos to you, even in this spiritual time, your cruel heart does not soften. All the best sons of the Ukrainian spirit are again imprisoned, in exile, under the vigilant eye of your gendarmes. Everyone who has told you a word of the truth has felt the brutal blow of your spectre. The unbreakable Moroz — why did you punish him? Was it not for his heroic defence of Ukrainian culture? The gentle Sverstiuk, who with his creative soul surveyed the construction of Ukrainian cathedral of the soul — surely you were not afraid of him? The honest Lisovy, who voluntarily climbed the scaffolding to warn you — surely you must see that such people are prepared to offer you a hand of friendship, even after receiving your cruel blows?

And why did you punish Mykola Rudenko, a cosmic poet, through whose mouth God offered you rebirth and knowledge: why did you commit such a gross injustice against him and his brothers, who accepted the mission of defending those imprisoned — Lukyanenko, Tykhy, Matusevych, Marynovych?

Svitlychny, Chornovil, Stus, Kalynets, Stasiv, Shabatura — the heroic men and women of Ukraine, whose only guilt lies in the fact that they think and act truthfully — what wrong have they committed against you, Russia?

We shall not stop to count our losses! The spirit of Ukraine shall give birth to us again and again so that we can fight the two-front battle against Captivity and Cruelty. But you, Russia, in this menacing historical period, should define the path you are taking and your spiritual status! Remember, this is a decisive time for you: either you resurrect amid a free circle of nations or be dammed into the wilderness and oblivion!

You cannot ignore this warning — neither the power nor the fear of other nations can rescue you from that fate which has ambushed all those you have oppressed — the fate of total destruction! . . .

. . . Human blood is not water! The earth does not accept it and every drop is summoned to heaven: let it pour on you, Russia of Peter and Catherine, Stalin and Beria, and heinous Russia of the present. Let it reduce the venomous skin of the Dragon to ashes so that the Sleeping Beauty can awake to the life of the spirit!

I shall stand as a witness at God's Judgement for Ukraine, for the betrayed and tortured kozaks, for the fateless serfs, the disgraced song, for the humiliated idea, for the numerous generations that died in foreign battle fields without having accomplished their national mission, for the millions who died of famine, for the thousands of my generation that were shot, for the millions who have been rendered to oblivion, suffering great sadness, despairing and helpless.

Give your answer to God, Russia, and accept the alternative: only complete freedom for the nations chained by you, free from the political

and economic chains of foreign ideologies, can lead us to a life of sovereignty and mutual friendship. Ukraine no longer wishes to turn the foreign wheel leading to nuclear destruction, to total creative degradation!

I come to you in a deserted dawn field, you two-headed eagle of Russia! I challenge you to a duel — one-to-one as in story times! The Virgin-Ukraine gave me her blessing for victory and said in parting: fight without a shield!

And thus I stand before you, you pre-historic Dragon, with an unshielded chest and without fear! Come — with your prisons, bureaucratic forces, czars, leaders, lackies, provocateurs! You shall not defeat me, because I — I am the Eternal Spirit of Ukraine!

Ukraine, 7th January, 1979.

*

PETITION FROM THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In the Summer of 1979 a group of 18 political prisoners calling themselves the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement smuggled out the following petition-appeal to the United Nations.

A characteristic of contemporary reality is the division into two systems opposed in principle — the open world of free enterprise and democratic freedoms, and the barbed-wire-surrounded world of integrated, centralized regulation of economic political and all spiritual life. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, which epitomizes the first and second systems, respectively, determines the image of the contemporary political map of the globe. The Third World and the non-aligned nations decrease the power of the opposing blocs but they do not decrease the conflicts of contemporary civilizations, because they do not stand (and cannot stand) aside from the historical process. The global factor of confrontation in conditions of today's extraordinarily high technological development and progress in nuclear weapons has resulted in the evolution of several powerful centres of international politics (the United States, the USSR, Western Europe and China) and it seems that, out of fear of a universal catastrophe, the nations of democratic states are content to close their eyes to the colossal tragedy of the Ukrainian nation and many other nations who at a time of celebration of cosmic achievements are being subjected to nowhere and never foreseen national destruction.

The pre-history of our national calamity began long ago, but with the seizure of power by the Communists — this vanguard of Russian chauvinists — our real tragedy began. The establishment in 1918 of the Ukrainian National Republic was seen by the Communists as a brazen attempt on our part on their national life and well-being, on their national goal — then with

their army they defeated the weak army of the newly established Republic and once again transformed Ukraine into a Russian colony.

After three centuries of colonial propaganda Russia was able to thrust upon the world many false ideas that have come to be regarded as the indisputable truth. One of these ideas is the notion that the nationality question has been justly resolved. We could not oppose this lie with our own national word, because we are mute before the world. We have been mute since long ago. Ukrainians are mute for the third century. The occupiers have taken from us our schools. They locked our living word in prison, and the works of our spiritual fathers in the censors' safes; they themselves speak in the name of the Ukrainians, and the world hears only their voice.

There are 40 million of us, but we are the most unfortunate nation. We ourselves tried to break away from the grasping clutches of the invaders, but other members of the universal family of nations looked upon our calamity with indifference. And so many of us died in the fight for national freedom, but there is no freedom.

And now we, children of a weakened populous nation, appeal to the United Nations, as the universal political forum of nations with their own states which is charged with leading colonized countries and nations out of political non-existence. Do not let us die with this desire! Register Ukraine as a Russian colony, and help us free ourselves from forcible occupation.

Ukraine found itself within the composition of Russia not as a result of the good will of the Ukrainian nation, but as a result of the military victory of Russia over Ukraine, that is, the offensive physical destruction of the nationally conscious intelligentsia, all Ukrainian political parties and the more prosperous strata of the population . . .

All Ukrainian state organs were gradually destroyed and in their place an occupational administration was organized, with the help of which all national life in Ukraine was subjugated to Russia. In order to subdue the great nation and to prevent an organized opposition, Russia stationed its military garrisons in all more or less notable cities, organized in Ukraine its sole political party and police with a huge network of party functionaries and state agents.

All creative organizations of Ukrainian writers, artists, theatre and film activists were liquidated, and some persons themselves were destroyed as well. In their place they created their own organizations, which, under the direction of the party, conduct ideological stupefaction, numbing the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the entire nation. The national clergy was destroyed and supplanted by their own.

All trade unions of workers and employees were liquidated, and in their place they brought their own from Moscow, subjugating them to the sole Russian party.

The general raising of the level of national consciousness at the end of the 1920s and the increasing discontent with the colonial status could have been transformed into a general explosion; then the occupants sanctioned

the mass famine and in this manner decreased the nation by one-fifth. During the period of this famine the intelligentsia did not die out. The peasants died. And then, in 1934, Stalin announced the formula: "The Ukrainian intelligentsia does not deserve to be trusted". This formula served as the basis for the physical punishment of the intelligentsia, as a result of which nearly 600,000 persons were repressed. The nation was quartered.

Luckily the Russian occupation did not spread over the entire national territory of the Ukrainians. A fifth (the western part) of the nation lived under freer conditions. This portion organized an underground national liberation movement, which during World War II acted against one occupant, and for 10 years after the war against a new one. This movement showed that hot blood, not water, flows in the veins of Ukrainians. However, the movement could not change the fate of its nation — the occupant defeated us this time as well.

A large Ukrainian political emigration appeared abroad at the conclusion of the war and afterwards. The emigration implored the entire free world to take note of the brutality of the occupants and genocide, but the world did not believe it — Russian demagoguery lied about the glorious knights, accusing them of cooperation with Hitlerites. Long, sad years have passed. The situation began to change for the better in the 1960 when a new generation of fighters for national independence appeared. Not having access to any communications media as a result of the occupants' censorship, they started to search for means to inform their brothers abroad, and with their help, the entire free world; and by means of radio broadcasts to inform their countrymen as well about the current predicament of Ukraine and its main problems.

We do not claim that this is an all-encompassing characterization of our homeland as a Russian colony; we only provide a brief document with a summary of the basic facts generally known to anyone with an interest in the history of the Russian empire and its relations with Ukraine. Nevertheless we use these facts as a foundation for a formal petition to the United Nations, asking for assistance in the struggle for independence through the registration of Ukraine as a colony in the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization, inclusion of the Ukrainian question on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly session and other action that the United Nations usually employs in similar matters.

The Ukrainian national ideal, in regard to internal political status, is based on a firm commitment to democratic principles in all spheres of life with safeguards for true opportunities for the free interplay of various political parties and powers; economic, professional and cultural freedom; freedom to conduct policies of peace, economic cooperation and external political, scholarly and literary and other exchanges with all countries; increasing the influence of Ukraine in the progressive movement of the world community towards an always fuller guarantee of spiritual and material needs, and faith in man as the highest value on earth.

As a result of armed intervention Moscow forced upon Ukraine the agreement of December 30, 1922, concerning the creation of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,* and established a harsh, brutal dictatorial regime under which any expression of freedom by the people became impossible and the basic principle of international law — the right to conduct oneself according to one's own will — had no validity for Ukrainians throughout the entire period of Russian rule. Norms of international law: the United Nations Charter (articles 1, 13, 55, 76), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference (Chapter VIII), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 1) and others sound fine. Nevertheless, up to now there is only... the real status of Ukraine, the colonial status which is evident from the following facts: the Ukrainian nation does not have its own organs of authority; it is deprived of political sovereignty, and the so-called Supreme Soviet of Ukraine has as its source of power not its own will, but the will of the Central Committee of Russia, which is beyond the borders of Ukraine and is not subject to the will of the Ukrainian nation. Ukraine's organs of authority are an occupational administration which, on the territory of Ukraine, epitomize the colonization policies of Moscow.

As a stateless nation, Ukraine does not determine its own political development and does not conduct any independent internal or foreign policy. Contrary to its national interests, Ukraine is included in the Russian political system that has an imperialistic yearning for world domination, and through its natural and human resources Ukraine unwillingly increases the industrial and military power of the empire, at the same time increasing international stress and the threat of a new world war which can inflict on the unfortunate nation even more disaster than the famine in 1933.

Ukraine does not have its own army. The metropolis mobilizes our youth in the imperial army and sends the majority to areas far from the native land in order to facilitate their assimilation and ideological adaptation in the spirit of its ideology.

Ukraine does not have its own foreign policy. No country in the free world considers it an independent state, and therefore no country feels a need to establish diplomatic relations on the level of embassies. And the member-states of the United Nations indulge the Moscow imperialists, admitting to the United Nations a delegation from Ukraine which represents the occupational administration — not the Ukrainian nation.

Ukraine does not choose its representatives who, contrary to the Ukrainians' dedication to the ideal of freedom of economic activity, etc., were appointed by Moscow, which thrust upon Ukraine brutal forms in the areas of industrial and agricultural production and itself conducts detailed planning and direction.

The Ukrainian nation is deprived of the right to dispose of its own natural resources.

Ukraine does not have its own financial system or national currency.

Ukraine is deprived of the opportunity to conduct its own foreign trade.

Ukraine does not determine its own social development, because Ukraine does not dispose of its own national wealth and does not direct the economy on its own territory; the standard of living of the Ukrainian nation corresponds neither to the size of its national-natural resources, nor to its labour efforts, nor to today's conceptions of the normal standard of living.

Ukraine does not determine its own cultural development. All cultural matters are under the immediate direction of the party, under the vigilant supervision of its censors who, during the entire period of their domination on our land, stubbornly and importunately conduct a policy of assimilation and replacement of Ukrainian culture with their own culture. All higher and special secondary school institutions are being Russified, and now they are to change to the Russian language in teaching at elementary and secondary schools. The Ukrainian language was forced out of economic and scholarly life, out of medicine, transport, trade, sports, films and other spheres of cultural and community life.

In order to completely destroy national consciousness and to destroy sources of the thought itself about a separate national life under the sun, the occupants concealed the history of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers from contemporary living generations, and forcibly attempted to misrepresent their own ideals and historical goals to the Ukrainian nation as its own.

To make unrestricted genocide possible, the Russian colonizers surrounded the external borders of Ukraine with barbed wire and the bayonets of border guards; they keep the Ukrainians in complete isolation from the external world. In today's period of great development of modes of transportation and mass tourism, individual tourism in Ukraine and travel of families from and to Ukraine are forbidden, and group tourism is reduced to an extreme minimum. Ukrainians have been deprived of the right to emigrate for the purpose of permanent residency in other countries.

The goal of the movement — the secession of Ukrainians from the composition of the so-called USSR and the creation of an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

As heirs and pursuers of the greatest historical striving of a nation — the yearning for an independent state life — we submit this petition to the General Secretariat of the United Nations and ask that it be registered as an official document of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement for review by the committee of the current status of the Ukrainian nation from the viewpoint of our petition's argumentation. We ask the secretary-general to do all that is necessary for the registration of Ukraine as a colony of the Russian empire which exists as the so-called USSR.

In light of the anti-colonial direction of the United Nations and taking into consideration the 1960 U.N. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we persistently ask that you

include the Ukrainian question as an urgent problem on the 1979 agenda of the General Assembly.

We appeal to the General Secretariat of the United Nations and to the governments of sovereign states — members of the United Nations, with a call to include the Ukrainian question on the agenda of the next session of the U.N. General Assembly and to use all means to hasten the freeing of Ukraine from Russian occupation.

Beyond the borders of the so-called USSR, Ukraine has a large diaspora with a wide range of political organizations that are united in a worldwide central organization — the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

For the successful resolution of the problems outlined in this document, we, the undersigned representatives of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, authorize the president of the WCFU to implement the range of diplomatic and other efforts that are necessary for the secession of Ukraine from the USSR and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state.

Signed by: Serhij Babych, Anatoliy Bernchuk, Ivan Hel, Ivan Ilchuk, Vitaliy Kalynychnenko, Levko Lukyanenko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Vasyl Ovsienko, Zorian Popadiuk, Vasyl Romaniuk, Petro Ruban, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Andriy Turyk, Bohdan Chuiko, Yuriy Shukhevych, Oles Berdnyk.

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UNITY IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Below we print a declaration signed by political prisoners in a Russian concentration camp which shows the high degree of solidarity among prisoners of non-Russian nationality. The declaration was made on what the prisoners term "The Second Decade of Solidarity of Nations Struggling Against Russian-Soviet Colonialism and Imperialism".

We, political prisoners of different nationalities, strictly isolated one from other and from the outside world in the Soviet harsh regime prison of Chystopolk, desiring to be heard in the matter of... (illegible)... release... (illegible)..., who are suffering under the yoke of the Kremlin's despicable despotism, will take part — from July 23 to August 1 — in the second Decade of solidarity of nations struggling against Russian-Soviet colonialism and imperialism.

In the framework of the Decade, continuing the tradition established by prisoners of the Ural concentration camps of different nationalities on the day of demands of return to ones homeland (July 23), we will rise in opposition to... (illegible), practised to date, which is used for the purpose of stifling national-liberation struggle, and until recently, physical destruction... (illegible) genocide of non-Russian nations, practice of mass and individual deportations to remote regions of Russia, Ural, Siberia (in the same manner, to territories of other nationally-enslaved countries), to severe climates; we

will demand cessation of this criminal... (illegible) practice, which also constitutes an outrage against the institution of citizenship of "union republics" — "sovereign countries" — we will demand that we be returned to our native countries.

On the day of protest against national discrimination in... (illegible) deprivation of freedom — Day of Silence (July 26) — we will express firm protest against depriving us of the opportunity of communication with the administration; private and business correspondence; during visits, prohibition to converse in languages other than Russian; deprivation of reading materials, radio and films in our native languages; prohibition to celebrate our national holidays and days of commemoration; prohibition to conserve, treasure and practice our national customs and rituals; prohibition to unite into national societies.

On the day of solidarity with Tatar-Bashkir and Mordovian nations (July 30) — we will submit a declaration of our solidarity with them, and express our protest against the forceful transformation of their territories into places of deportation and exile of political prisoners — members of other nationalities, including active participants of national-liberation movements.

On the day of right of nations to self-determination (August 3), we will traditionally commemorate the anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki agreement by protesting against the brutal violation by the Soviet Government of the Principle VII of the Declaration of Principles of said conclusive act and demanding immediate implementation of this most important international lawful covenant regarding all prisoners of Russian-Soviet colonialism and imperialism on the territory of the present-day U.S.S.R. and beyond its border. We will express our solidarity under the banner — "For the freedom of each of our nations", using an old sacred slogan — "For your and our freedom!".

However, we realize that the solidarity of the enslaved nations alone is not enough. We also depend on the sympathy and support of all the freedom-loving countries of the world, especially those, who gained their independence recently, the Third World countries, and the democratic countries of the West.

Further, we call upon all countries and governments, political, national and religious parties and organizations, all international society, public and social activists, private individuals — to everywhere firmly and consistently insist upon the complete and final liquidation of national and colonial enslavement by the Russian-Soviet empire — the "prison of nations", which, today, at the end of the Twentieth Century, constitutes the main hindrance to world development. This and only this can guarantee world peace, stability and... (illegible).

Let the Decade, side by side with which go unavoidably strengthened repressions and psychological pressures upon its participants, become a new

warning of danger to the peace and liberty of all nations and peoples, that arises from this historically doomed and, therefore, twice-dangerous entity, which still stubbornly opposes the coming of the inevitable end of its empire... (illegible); in the name of their future, nations should display constant vigilance to Russian-Soviet camouflaged and open expansionist desires, and not allow themselves to be hypnotized by false assurances of commitments to quests of national liberations of "foreign" countries, because actually there is just one goal — imperialistic and undermining interests — to deceive with the help of bright, but empty statements and false labels — fig leaves that hide merciless national pressures, masked by fictitious characteristics of "independence" and "sovereignty" of "union republics" — a state of complete lawlessness of national structures in the U.S.S.R. and non-existent independence of satellite countries.

Support us in order that our today, where each nation has its designated role of a mute in the grandiose farce, under the name of "history's new society of peoples — the Soviet nation", which, in the opinion of its creators, should stubbornly aim toward its complete realization... (illegible), unification and denationalization to take the place of the colourful mosaic of numerous nations, a role of supplier of prisons and other resources for the insatiable Monster, — which constantly moves toward incessant expansion of its empire, — in order that our today does not become your tomorrow. In order that civilization does not become degraded under the boot of the Kremlin's world hegemony, if it does not perish in the fires of atomic war which, incidentally the Kremlin is ready to wage with no scruples in a critical moment.

All of us, who live on this earth and for whom life, peace and the liberty of their nations are precious, may not lose a minute.

Signed by political prisoners of Soviet harsh regime prison in Chystopolk, Tataria: Razmik Zahrobian — Armenian, Anatoly Shcharansky — Jew, Vladimir Balakhanov, Mikhail Kazachkov — Russians, Vasyl Fedorenko, Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynskyj — Ukrainians.

We, the undersigned prisoners of concentration camp Sosnovka in Mordovia, after becoming familiar with the contents of the appeal of the political prisoners of the Soviet regime prison in Chystopolk, completely and wholeheartedly underwrite this text, and will take an active part in the second Decade of solidarity of captive nations.

Borys Gayauskas, Alexander Ginsburg, Nikolay Yevrhafov, Sviatoslav Karavanskyj, Levko Lukyanenko, Bohdan Rebryk, Oleksa Tykhy, Danylo Shumuk, Edvard Kuznetsov.

April 10, 1979

Translated from Ukrainian by
Zena Matla-Rychtycka

THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

(Part 2)

These inherited ambitions, and to some extent the methods, leave no room for any doubts. On the basis of the ruling ideology, new economic factors and the machievelian exploitation of the favourable world political situation, the empire became a super-nation with global interests and has fully utilised the disorganisation of Europe and its traitorous indifference — leading to the desertion, fear and retreat of nations whose duty it was at least to guarantee the relative freedom and life of small and stateless nations, on which the captive nations placed and place so many hopes and expectations. The empire used this capitulation of the West to the maximum and, granted full freedom of action, the unleashed hands of the agents of the Bolshevik administration of Moscow, developed new faster more efficient methods for the practice of ethnocide, means which were the catalysts of Russification and the unification of cultures. These occupy chronological periods (for example the years of the establishment and consolidation of the regime, the realisation of economic, agricultural and cultural plans, the error of the war years when it was intended to stabilise the reformist intentions of the regime, the economy of the post-war years and the assault of the last 15-20 years) when it was attempted to envelop the different social strata of society. The different periods were not equal in their results or intentions, but were the same in principle and had the same totalitarian nature, that has controlled the empire for almost half a century.

The cynical formulation of these concepts and the so-called “reawakening” is that which constitutes the so-called “internationalism”, “socialist realism” that exists in the so-called “single national economic complex”, and the “methods of socialist realism” in literature and art within the so-called “single Soviet nation”. Even the simplest of theoretical postulates are highly discriminating and are far from being democratic. Also the dictates of the party caste and the ruling nation are strengthened through state laws which legalise the usurpation of the regime. The closed and clandestine means of government result in the total prohibition of elementary political freedoms — both individual and national. The formulated legal-state norms — excessively evasive and prevaricating — are calculated to totally deceive the population, with the help of propagandistic slogans and the repressive apparatus. The existence of nations in these conditions and “norms” is without precedence in the history of mankind. This is the boundless despotism of the ruling

nation over all its captives with an incomprehensible insanity, over — bureaucratisation and voluntaristic centralisation which first embraces the party-administrative apparatus, the economy and academic, cultural and enlightening institutions. The brutal chauvinism of the ruling nation and its intolerance towards the national-social life of the suppressed nations has resulted in the compulsory influx of a Russian population to the ethnic territories of our nation, the russification of our people's in Ukraine, their migration into the lands of the metropolis, the introduction of huge numbers of non-Russian populations in the new economic regions of the metropolis, the enforcement of the Russian way of life and mass ethnocide. It should be noted that we are not speaking of natural objective processes that are noticed in the lives of many nations, small ethnic groups or international diasporas. We are, rather, speaking of the single minded, conscious and well planned internal politics of an imperial nation — politics that have been raised to the level of the one of the most important strategic aims that are intended to guarantee, safeguard and strengthen the expansion of the empire. It is also important to emphasise that the term culture is not understood as being some separate component but is interpreted as being an aggregate product of the community (communities) — the primordial historical legacy of a nation.

Ethnocide — the Main Aim of Moscow's Strategists

The destructive elimination of this legacy as a whole — including natural and economic resources and human resources — is thus an encroachment on the genetic origins of a nation, on its spiritual legacy. This is the main aim of Moscow's strategists, the aim of their long-sighted and single-minded activities. In the sphere of economics — under the slogan of a "single national economic complex" — the exploitation and exhaustion of all existing resources has already had a total character for several decades and has been allowed to pass without reprisal (the world community merely observes these crimes in silence, obediently signing agreements on "non-interference" in "internal matters" and thus sanctions these crimes and the complete defencelessness and weakness of the colonies). The relatively ineffective acts of self-defence, produce inappropriate results in relation to the loss of strength and thus to some extent explains the weakness of the opposition of the captive nations. The reasons for this are manifold, but it originates in the epoch of the czarist colonial exploitation of nations and the assimilation of national elites. The basic reason for the weakness of the liberation process lies in the devastation and liquidation of organised national powers following the October Revolution of 1917 and the unquenchable protracted Bolshevik Russian terror that drained the nation of its life-blood and completely demoralised any remaining opposition strengths by "proving" the futility of the struggle to the outside world.

This problem is complicated and tragic and for several small nations (the Baltics, Zakavkazya, Central Asia) the question is not only one of

statehood but primarily of elementary physical survival. Small nations cannot afford an active opposition and the loss of millions of sacrifices, as Ukraine had heroically lost in the fight for her freedom. Because of this and also because of the lingual, religious and cultural proximity of Ukraine with her occupier, the size of the nation, her territories, historical fate and geopolitical position made Ukraine until, very recently, the object of political genocide and now the object of political ethnocide. The alternative between battle and self-preservation, the advantages of one over the other, the conscious union of both — despite their lack of results in the last half century — have had some results but depend on many factors, primarily on the existence of an organised or at least of an elemental opposition, the stability and the power of the imperial regime, the external political situation. However, each of the questions raised here demands deep research. We shall merely mention that the small nations of the empire undergo and experience a substantially smaller pressure than can be said for Ukraine. But having said this, we must also say that they are more defenceless. The vast majority of them are deprived of even their ethno-culture and their national territories only bear formal administrative titles. This is why the criminal indifference of the governments of Europe and the USA and the whole world community is simply unforgiveable. It is true that they have prevented the treacherous frontiers of the ensuing communist expansion of a totalitarian super power encroaching on their own freedom and that recently they have begun to show a more active interest in the internal situation of the empire, in the position and fate of its captive nations. And although the results of this interest are still barely perceptible, the solidarity that they show gives moral support in the captive nations' fight for their right to life, and to some extent has slowed down the process of ethnocide. The growth of the strength of this support is one of the most positive methods of safeguarding the freedom of the nations of Europe. But the true state of existence of the nations on the frontiers of the empire literally dictates the necessity of more decisive forms of defence. But even the passive help given recently produces optimism and encourages the growth and consolidation of the strength of the opposition, which is vital given the present conditions facing the human resources and the culture of the captive nations.

The Realisation of the Politics of Ethnocide

The politics of ethnocide were actively put into practice by the Bolshevik regime at the end of the 1920's, and in the 1930's and 1948's ethnocide was introduced a permanent process by hegemonist politics, and was then transformed into an unprecedented and brutal mass genocide. The only analogous situation of this is the destruction of Jews by the Germans during the Second World War. Both the Russian and German regimes have to account for tens of millions of deaths. In both their practice and nature,

the two regimes are as alike as "two drops of water", with Bolshevism being the "inventor" of planned forced famines that killed millions of people in a vast territory. It deserves a "patent" for its constantly active dense network of concentration camps with their exhausting and dystrophic deaths — all in the name of "socialism". The Nazis borrowed the idea of the concentration camp system from "a good neighbour" and added their own "discovery" — the gas chambers. Is this not a striking example showing the identical nature of the two regimes?

In the 1950's and 1960's the strategists of imperial politics, taking account of the international situation, the military might of the empire and the mercantile needs of the economy drew the conclusion that the internal ambitions set for the 1930's and 1940's had been achieved and that mass assimilation in the existing conditions was the optimal variant available to enable them to perpetuate the established policies. They set themselves the aims of eliminating the existing nations within the ensuing ten years. And as this cynical exploitation brought its results, it served as a demonstration to the world of the might of the regime and showed that it did not fear reprisals, and for more than ten years the black hand of death swept our nation intoning the requiem "one united Soviet nation". Even more tragedies could await us in the future, but let us turn our attention now to the present reality — a reality that ensued after more than two decades of ethnocide and the significance of this for the empire. The destruction of the nation, the resettlement of huge sections of non-Russian populations from their ethnic lands to the territories of the metropolis and to other regions of the empire, their enforced mergence and the enforced concomitant Russification of the settler in difficult conditions, the enforced assimilation of ethnic populations on their ethnic territories through educational establishments, the press, publishing houses, Russian control of industry, the army, the organised influx of a Russian population and their privileged positions on the territories of the captive nations, the predominance and penetration of great-nation chauvinism in every branch of national life and its huge army of informers, spies, the KGB state apparatus with its absolute control, limitless powers, insane repressions and provocations — this all forms the complex of methods available in the arsenal of the political strategists implementing the policies of ethnocide — and this list is by no means complete. The means of ethnocide are total in nature and are used by propagandistic demagoguery to deceive the masses, and provides the ideology for export in the guise of "internationalism". The mechanism of these policies is extremely complex. Their technology and implementation have many levels. In the instituted industry of deceiving the nations, two vectors can be distinguished. The primary objective of the traditional and historic interests inherited from czarism, was the assimilation of the elites and intelligentsias of the suppressed nations, of their most talented creators and the bearers of culture that exist in each branch of human activity. It was and is intended to deceive, assimilate and absorb the gifted, the youth,

great scholars and philosophers, political and social activists and organisers, talented writers and artists, prominent cultural representatives, academics and economists into the culture of the ruling nation, and thus make them serve the occupier. Should they not willingly do this, but instead declare their patriotism, the ruling nation tried and tries to neutralise them, deprive them of the opportunity of manifesting themselves, silencing their talents and crippling man's and man's family's fate. Should this not succeed and should there be any opposition or resistance then they are discredited, deformed, repressed or physically destroyed. These are some of the methods that Moscow uses against each successive generation of the elites of the captive nations, methods which were inherited from czarism.

In order to consider the effect (identical for all the nations within the boundaries of the empire) on the behavioural patterns of the elites one has to consider the effect of the complex conditions of a protracted colonial occupation with a single minded programme of ethnocide conducted against a background of constant pogroms, suppression, brutal mass repressions that result in a peculiar national memory of the psychological terror experienced by successive generations, and which first affects the enlightened and socially active strata of the population. This has the result of one group of people terrorising another and stimulating fear and deception, in which process the elite is either totally or at least partially ridiculed and assimilated. Living with the permanent possibility of repressions, collaboration, the loss of the national "ego", virtual unemployment, total neglect, results in the loss of many talents, intellectuals, creators and bearers of national cultures that flow into the ruling culture and resettling in the metropolis. In order to avoid potential terrorisation and in order to realise oneself as an individual (although in the final account — despite their predominance, talents or professionalism, the majority of international activists, and in particular politicians, administrators, militarists and ideologists — due to Moscow's mistrust towards "national minorities" and because of the ruling Russian ethnocentrism, are relegated to secondary positions and the backyards of history) one has to serve the imperial state machinery and the culture of the hegemonist. Thus numerous, highly talented representatives or potential representatives of all branches of human activity consciously transfer their allegiance to the hegemonist. The practice of physical or cultural genocide is dependent on the internal and external political position of the empire at any given time. The strength of the opposition of the captive nations thus demands "optimal" methods be used to repress them, and demonstrate the stability and certainty of the hegemonist of avoiding any external reprisals and also proves its need for the economic and human resources provided by the captive nations, and is proof of the absolute chauvinism and sadism of the fractionist clique that usurped the regime and subordinated the general imperial party bureaucratic oligarchy while depending on genocide or ethnocide or both to maintain their power. Despite the means of physical destruction or mass elimination, they undoubtedly produce the desired results for

the occupier. Firstly, they actively strengthen its position in the occupied territories and also introduces some degree of its own culture. Secondly, they greatly increase their genetic arsenal by assimilating future generations and the general population. Thirdly, they cause the captive nation to be drained of its life blood and it is thus unable to deviate and it loses its ability to oppose and fight for its freedom, and is deprived of its cultural development. Also the actual population of such a nation declines rapidly. Does not the following speak for itself: at the beginning of the twentieth century there were 35 million Ukrainians. Today there is the same number while in the same period of time the Russian population has almost doubled and there are almost 120 million of them, with 15 million of them constituting the Fifth Column that tramples Ukraine's culture underfoot, that almost completely occupies our towns, Russifies them. And with the majority of them belonging to the party administrative apparatus they are able to usurp each sphere of human activity. However millions of Ukrainians fulfill an analogous function beyond the frontiers of Ukraine. They are assimilated themselves and realise the policies of the occupier by assimilating other nations. *Divide et impera* — (divide and rule) as the Roman used to say.

The Sapping of Ukraine's Creative Potential

The creative potential of our nation is drained of its life-blood to such an extent, that to take literature as an example, no literary phenomenon have arisen for a long period, while the Union of Writers of Ukraine does not fill its ranks with truly talented authors and the creative individuals that are demanded by elementary literary progress. Instead many of its members are Russian cultural workers while many talented Ukrainians, undesired by the regime, try to survive outside the Union, which virtually means that they are deprived of the right to have their works published. The Union of Writers is an organisation totally subordinated to the party bureaucracy as a branch of the state machine that controls the arts, ideology and propaganda, and which without a doubt functions efficiently. It does have some talented people in its ranks — people who, although are sincerely interested in the development of national culture, have their hands tied. Thus the basic membership of the Union — as a result of the loss of talents and for propagandistic and political reasons — primarily consists of artisan "literateurs", people from the so-called literary circles and the propagandistic apparatus of "literature" but who are people very distant from true literature, and indeed have nothing in common with it. But because of the established "regulations" governing the Union anyone who is "ideologically sound", is not recognised as a "dissident" by the KGB, who has the right recommendations from the party organs and who has published one or two books can become a member. Although the literary value of publications is taken into account when membership is being considered, it is by no means the essential criterion. Unconditional apologetics of the ruling ideology is the first criterion demanded of an author and then

this is followed by the "value" of his publication. Often membership is directly supervised by the orders of the party apparatus, the KGB and its literary agents in the regional and central branches of the Union, by publishers, protegy "pupils" and such members are accepted after the "publication of one or two literary 'may-flies' ". The vast majority of the Union's members do not produce anything worthwhile and as a rule do not rise above average while they are in the confines of their professed ideology. Further the perpetrators of imperial politics entrust administrative posts within the Union to party-literary functionaries who faithfully serve the propagandistic requirements of the imperial regime. Indeed they are entrusted with the function of realising and controlling the literary-artistic process and are responsible for its external and internal development, and for the stimulation and mood of the creative intelligentsia. In these very technical methods used by the totalitarian regime, these functionaries play a vital role. Firstly they provide support for the regime, and as they are an organic part of it, they provide necessary new ideas and methods or controlling culture, ideology, propaganda and the administrative apparatus. Secondly the members that are formally accepted by the Union are of such a level that they create a vacuum of talents in the culture of the captive nation, which further crushes the nation and drains it of its life forces. Also the work of the Union, the work of the "literateurs" and their "production" acts as good camouflage for the official thesis of the "blossoming and development" of national literature (including culture and art). An analogous situation exists within the technical cadres, which serves to emphasise the leading role played by the regime in all artistic unions and all cultural institutions. But such organisation and its effect are not limited to the spheres of art and culture — they are used as an effective narcotic means for deceiving the masses and are intended to produce conformity and weakness within the captive nations, and thus to induce their decay. Thirdly the Union of Writers as an organisation of cultural workers is permeated with people of a similar calibre and level, and thus it becomes the foremost conformist by virtue of its composition. In as far as the Union is completely dependent on the bureaucratic apparatus and in as much as each "member" is conscious and well aware of his low creative ability, he is also aware of the favours he owes to his "literary patrons" and thus fulfills his wishes, and who on the orders of the party or Moscow's "leaders" baits active patriots, talented literateurs and artists with an original style, with a Ukrainian patriotic soul or with avant-garde tendencies. Talented and recalcitrant creators are psychologically broken, their creative work is slandered at secret or semi-open meetings. Their books are not reviewed, nothing is mentioned about them themselves although the press and periodicals maliciously mutilate the essence of their creativity. The most holy of values are profaned and the talents and lives of true artists are ruined. The subject of these assaults either breaks, "recants" and although he has not committed any crime, he pleads for forgiveness. In this way outstanding national activists with great talents are transformed into frightened, ingratiating and insignificant figures. They become psychological and creative

chameleons who assimilate and merge with the grey uniformity of the general masses, and produce analogical "literature", that shows no trace of their former talent. If such individuals withstand and do not break under this pressure, then they completely vanish from the literary and artistic scenes. Their works are not published, they are not read and their talents are lost for whole decades (often forever). They are frozen out of literary or artistic processes, decay and are lost from our culture completely. When an artist opposes (this is particularly in reference to the role played by the samvydav in the last decade), he remains a true son of his nation. However he is accused of anti-state activity and the KGB prepares a case against him and confines him to concentration camps for long years. This is just one method which causes Ukrainian culture to suffer irreplaceable losses, with the creations and creators dying or ridiculed as were the works of Opanas Zalyvakha, Vasyl Stus, Stefania Shabatura and many others. This merely serves as a brief description of the true picture of the existing state of life and the conditions within the spheres of human activity. The full effect on the lives and works on the creative intelligentsia presents an impenetrable wall. The repressive, single minded totalitarian nature of the regime controls everything — mutual relations, administrative organs, schools, industry and production, academic establishments and the creative unions. This oppressive nature and destructive mechanism is felt by the teacher and book-keeper, engineer and student, scholar and philosopher. Further the strategists of Moscow's policies fully understand the mobilising power of art and in particular of the written word, the authority and the social weight carried by literateurs and scholars and they have thus been placed under special surveillance, total control and systematic pressure — which affects each creative individual — the writer, artist, academic, journalist social scientist.

It is important to note that the process of draining the life force of great and living nations — despite the total and constant existence of various means of repression, manipulation, assimilation, resettlement — can only be enforced for a given length of time. If the coefficient of the creative potential of the creative nation is high, then its culture, even if on a lower level, shall continue to function through the contribution of its creators. As a rule, the majority of these save the nation from national annihilation. They are the source that renews the culture of each nation — including ours. The heirs of the national elites, the intelligentsia and their descendants could raise the level of Ukrainian culture to a higher plane through their genetic inheritance and through knowledge of world culture gained from national activists, diplomats, scholars and cultural workers, economists and traders, the work of specialised institutions, translated world literature and the organically assimilated world culture by our own, through mutual exchanges and friendships with other nations, and thus lead to the true development and blossoming of Ukrainian culture. However, we do not have such an intelligentsia: it has either been destroyed or assimilated by the occupier. This is why today our culture merely functions and is preserved by one

source — the national lower classes, and in particular, by the peasantry (in perspective, the elites — historically assimilated by czarism — are the main source of the regeneration of Ukrainian culture, its decisive strength, gives the high coefficient of the creative potential of the nation, raises above the uniformity of the national masses. And a significant number of the national elite has been able to withstand the repressions and assimilation and are the representatives of the spirit of Ukraine. In essence this is not the culture of the national state because the nation is not a super-nation nor an imperial chauvinist, nor, given the existing historical conditions, is it elitist. Given the level of development of Ukrainian culture, it is a culture on a European level, but it is also a national culture permeated with the spirit of pure and holy nationalism — the alpha and omega of a nation — and the essence of each nation, its balwark and strength, its invincible power in its struggle for independence and sovereignty).

Thus given that the process of draining the life forces of great and viable nations can only be implemented for a given period of time, each successive generation produces a substantial number of national cultural workers despite repressions pressure, assimilation. But in the extremely complicated and difficult conditions presented by the fact of colonial repression, the conditions for the life and work of each individual, his talent and courage are dependent on the conditions in which he is formed and his personal ambitions. The creators and bearers of national culture — in each of its component branches — language, literature, enlightenment, art, history, science, production and religion — in creating or safeguarding, are members of different communities, social groups and thus have different ambitions and methods. The division into strata, social groups, parties, tendencies, professional and international organisations is an inherent fact for each sovereign nation, or these strata can even be dependent on them, i.e. such divisions are subordinate to a nation with democratic forms of government. Our Ukrainian nation, and all the nations of the empire save the Russian nation, are faced with particularly difficult conditions of existence. Total centralisation — taken to an extreme — leads to the total control of social life and the liquidation of the most elementary rights of man by the totalitarian regime means that the creative intelligentsia can only be united through official bureaucratic organisations, unions, institutions and societies. However (and often with great solidarity) they are often clandestine members of different groups and make important contributions to the national culture (even though some are negative).

Externally and in relation to the national idea, they appear to have many different concepts. They do not have rigidly defined organisations with precisely formulated programmes, or principles and disciplined rules of behaviour. The transfer of individuals from one group to another — internal “migration” — is common, and often despairing cosmopolitans join them openly declaring their opposition, while former patriots, suffocated by the repressions, join the ranks of renegades and collaborators. Despite all these fluctuations, when one considers the constructive (or destructive) effects on

national culture, each of these groups does have its own specific directions. It is obvious that each has its own approach, intentions and most importantly each has its own methods (an important recent development). This provides the basis for the development of a more active and larger opposition movement, or it at least provides a source and hope for the regeneration of national devotion, and the potential of retaining and developing our true national traditions, the spirit of the nation and the forms of its ethnocultural activity. And although the present situation in Ukraine is difficult, and although the Ukrainian nation is being pushed towards the position of a "nation on the frontiers of culture", these new developments provide the means of rescuing it from this fate. The establishment of the Groups to Monitor the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Ukrainian opposition is vital step in this direction and an important step forward. Now it is hoped to "activise the endeavours, to unify the various groups and to implement wider co-operation than exists at present in Ukraine and to organise an opposition against the ruling nation". Although analogous attempts have been made before, this new development demands our utmost attention and cannot be ignored. It is extremely important and with its perspectives of establishing a new uprising, its progressive intentions and methods of work, it represents a real achievement for the struggle for life and the freedom of the nation. It presents an exceptionally complex problem that demands the efforts of many people, many preparations, many developments and it demands a precise assessment of the existing situation — which is impossible to make in the conditions of a prison. Thus these observations are intended to raise a series of questions (not always clearly formulated for tactical reasons) and their brief discussion, and to present an incomplete, but objective picture of the true state of our present national social life and the position of Ukrainian culture. In the certainty that these questions are being dealt with in Ukraine or at least are being discussed and partly resolved, we have only presented the actual questions very superficially — that are actually tasks to be fulfilled, and present them to the new generation that is infusing the movement as the start of a "relay race". Let us hope that they have inherited all that we have achieved, that we have prepared a firm foundation, firm methods and structures for them to work with, and that they shall thus be able to rise higher than we are able, and not begin from the beginning, which as a result of unfavourable historical conditions, our generation was forced to do.

To be continued.

Translated from Ukrainian
by *Lessia Dyakivska*

NEWSBRIEF

UKRAINIANS FIGHT FOR YURIY SHUKHEVYCH'S FREEDOM

Ukrainians all over the world are increasing pressure for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych, son of General Roman Shukhevych, leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Yuriy has spent all but three and a half years of his life from the age of 15 in jail. He was arrested in 1948 because he refused to renounce his father or what he stood for — an independent Ukraine.

Ukrainians in Australia have set themselves the goal of securing Yuriy's freedom and bringing him and his family to Australia. The Australian Government has already granted admittance visas.

Meanwhile Ukrainians in other parts of the world including Britain, the USA and Germany staged hunger-strikes from March 29 onwards — Yuriy's birthday — to raise public consciousness about his plight.



Yuriy Shukhevych, born in 1933 in Lviv, is the son of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), and the head of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) Executive in Ukraine, who was killed in battle with Russian MVD forces in 1950 near Lviv. In 1944, when Yuriy was 11 years old, his mother was deported to Siberia by the Bolsheviks and his father's brother was killed. Yuriy Shukhevych was first arrested on August 22, 1948 at the young age of fifteen and was subsequently sentenced to ten years of imprisonment for the "crime" of being his father's son. Yuriy refused to condemn his father or to denounce the high ideals for which his father lived, fought and died for, even though he was subjected to severe and inhuman torture. The arrest and sentencing of Yuriy Shukhevych was based on a decision made in Moscow during the Extraordinary Meeting of the MVD of the USSR.

In 1950, Yuriy Shukhevych was brought to Lviv to identify his father, who had just been killed by the MVD. On April 22, 1956, he was temporarily released based on a ruling that he was sentenced by an illegal institution which, in accordance with Soviet theoretical law, had no juridical power. However, the Prosecutor General of the USSR, Rudenko, appealed Shukhevych's release stating that he was the son of a "nationalist leader", adding that Yuriy allegedly "made attempts to establish contacts with the OUN center abroad". In the fall of 1956, Yuriy was arrested for a second time and interned in the Vladimir prison in Russia to finish serving one-and-a-half years of his unexpired ten year term. On the eve of his release, he was visited by KGB Major K. Halsky-Dmytryk, who demanded that Yuriy renounce his father and publically condemn the OUN-UPA. Yuriy continued to refuse to this only demand. As a result, on August 21, 1958, the day of his release, he was again charged with "anti-Soviet agitation among inmates". Testifying against him were two common criminals, Burkov and Fomchenko, who were bribed by Major Halsky. Yuriy was transferred to the investigation prison in Lviv and there, with the aid of the afore-mentioned "witnesses", he was sentenced to yet another ten-year term in concentration camps, even though the trial and all proceedings were illegal. Several weeks later, Major Halsky-Dmytryk again attempted to force Yuriy to denounce the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA and to condemn his father either in writing or on the radio, promising to release him in return. Major Halsky-Dmytryk admitted to Yuriy that he was convicted on the basis of false testimony presented by two planted witnesses. He stated that this was necessary since Yuriy could not be released under any circumstances unless he signed a statement renouncing his father and condemning the OUN-UPA.

In 1963, Yuriy Shukhevych was transferred to Kyiv investigation prison, where he remained until 1964. There, further attempts were made to force him to make a statement, but he categorically refused. In 1965, Yuriy was to write a "petition", but instead he wrote a protest statement proving that he was sentenced illegally and groundlessly, without any substantial legal basis. On July 20, 1967, he wrote a second protest to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, producing evidence proving once again, that he was sentenced on the basis of false testimony of planted witnesses and that he was being punished only because he was the son of the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement. He also wrote about the criminal activity of the KGB and the lawlessness of the Soviet juridical system. Yuriy Shukhevych stated that his life was in danger since his second year term was drawing to a close. He cited a number of examples where many prisoners mysteriously "died" just prior to their release and that this could happen to him as well.

In August, 1968, Yuriy Shukhevych was set free, but was denied the right to live in Ukraine. He settled in Nalchyk, in the Caucasus, and lived there for three and one-half years. He is married and the father of two children. In 1970, he signed a joint statement in defence of the recently released

Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz. During his brief sojourn outside of prison, Yuriy was constantly under the surveillance of the KGB. He was arrested for the third time in March, 1972, and was subsequently sentenced on September 9 of that year during an illegal trial in Nalchyk to an additional ten years of severe imprisonment in a concentration camp. He was tried under Article 70 and Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. He was accused of writing memoirs about his incarceration in concentration camps, of showing interest in the circumstances surrounding the death of his father and of conducting "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". In reality, he was sentenced for the third time only because he refused to denounce his father and to condemn his father's nationalist convictions and anti-imperialist position with respect to the Soviet Russian Empire.

It was because of this unwavering attitude and courageously outspoken criticism of Soviet Russian neo-colonialist policy in Ukraine that Yuriy Shukhevych was subjected to persecution, torture, and to a total of thirty-five years of imprisonment and exile. Yuriy Shukhevych continues to languish in concentration camps. He is seriously ill, suffering from an intestinal ulcer. He is deprived of all medical attention and his life is in grave danger.

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UKRAINIAN STUDENTS HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE

Ukrainian students held a press conference at the United Nations Plaza Hotel, New York, on March 28 to inform the media of current national and human rights violations in Ukraine. Special attention was drawn to the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych, 47 years old on that day.

Valentyn Moroz and other dissidents recently released from the USSR issued statements on his behalf. Also a representative of the Afganistan Freedom Fighters took part in the press conference to express solidarity with the Ukrainian liberation movement and to give an update on events in Afganistan.

The press conference also announced the start of a hunger-strike in support of Yuriy Shukhevych which began immediately after the conference and a demonstration on March 29.

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BOMB ATTACKS IN PARIS

Two cars belonging to the Soviet Embassy in Paris were destroyed by fire bombs in April. An organisation calling itself "Group Yuriy Shukhevych" claimed responsibility saying the attack was in protest against the flouting of Ukraine's national rights by the Kremlin.

UKRAINIAN CHURCH LEADER NOMINATED

A four-day synod of Ukrainian bishops — the first to be held in 50 years — ended on March 27 with the announcement by the Pope of the nomination of Monsignor Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholics in Philadelphia, USA, as successor to Cardinal Josyf Slipyj.

Monsignor Lubachivsky will succeed to the position on the death of Cardinal Slipyj, regarded by the majority of Ukrainians throughout the world as Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Monsignor Lubachivsky was born 65 years ago at Dolyna in the archdiocese of Lviv, Western Ukraine, and ordained as a priest in 1938. The Pope appointed him Archbishop of Philadelphia in September, 1979.

Speaking in Ukrainian to the 14 bishops attending the synod the Pope exhorted them not to lose hope. He said, "There is a Providence which guides peoples and takes care in a special manner of the community of the believers".

"Sufferings, privations, hostility are indications of trial, but they are also stimulus for a greater faithfulness".

"Faithfulness to one's own Catholic faith, attachment to one's own rite, to ancient traditions, in a single word, to one's own spiritual identity, which has its own communion with the Pope and with all the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church the distinctive element of its own heritage of faith and life".

The synod was preceded by a visit to Moscow by an eight-strong Vatican delegation for talks with leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church. Sources reported that the talks could have been strained because of the Pope's support for the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was forcibly merged with the Russian Orthodox Church by Stalin after the war.

The synod generated considerable press interest. Below we print a leading article from *The Times* of March 24. This is one of many articles dealing with the synod printed by British and other newspapers: —

"PATRIARCHATE WANTED

Pope John Paul meets the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Rome on Monday. It is the second time he has convoked a special synod of a "problem" hierarchy. The first time was when he called the Dutch bishops together last month. That was seen as a test of his attitude to post-conciliar liberalism in the Roman Catholic Church. The Ukrainian synod will be something of a test of his dealings with the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is a Uniat church, of the Byzantine rite but in communion with Rome. Having been liquidated within Tsarist Russia, by the outbreak of the second world war it flourished only in those western regions of the Ukraine which did not form part of the Soviet Union. In 1946

soon after the final annexation of those regions a synod of its clergy, subjected to fierce intimidation, dissolved the church; and 2,700 parishes containing some three to four million parishioners passed into the Russian Orthodox Church. Not all conformed. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has maintained a secret existence within the Soviet Union, although most of its members are now dispersed.

In exile the church has become deeply implicated in Ukrainian nationalism of an uncompromising kind. Its members complain that their church has not always had the support and encouragement from the Vatican which they feel entitled to. Pope Paul VI was cautious. The Soviet authorities claim that the Ukrainian Catholic Church is simply a church in exile. The expatriate Ukrainians claim, correctly, that their church has a definite representation within the Soviet Union, though a secret one. Pope Paul did nothing to contradict the Soviet claim. In particular he refrained from conferring the title of patriarch on the aged Cardinal Slipyj, the spiritual head of that church and a national hero to exiled Ukrainians. He spent 18 years in Soviet prisons before his release in 1963. So important is the matter of the patriarchate to Ukrainian Catholics that they have taken, without authority, to using some of the courtesies of the title, and even the title itself, of Cardinal Slipyj.

The title of patriarch is important because it implies territorial jurisdiction; it is therefore appropriate if applied to the head of a church based and active in the Ukraine (the exiles' claim) and inappropriate if applied to the head of a church which has been scattered (the Soviet claim). The Vatican has also been cautious in as much as it has not, so far as is known, brought the Ukrainian question on to the agenda of its periodical discussions with the Russian Orthodox Church.

Will the present Pope be bolder, will he give the members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church their desire and confer that pregnant title on Cardinal Slipyj or his successor? Their church is tolerated within the Polish state, though the Poles are not traditionally sympathetic to the Eastern rites. More to the point, Pope John Paul has been more open and more active than his predecessor in support of the Lithuanians who furnish the chief manifestation of open Roman Catholicism within the Soviet Union. It might be thought true to his character for him to make that solemn gesture of encouragement to the Ukrainians, whom history and their communist masters have so cruelly abused this century; and it would be good to see them so rewarded. But the gesture, because of the jurisdictional implication of the title of patriarch, would be sharply resented by the Soviet authorities, including those of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Vatican has not only its own relations with the East to consider, but also the risk of intensified persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic still there.

UKRAINIANS CONFRONT MOSCOW AT LAKE PLACID

From the gateway to the winter Olympics, New York City, to the Olympic Games themselves in Lake Placid, the Ukrainian Liberation Front and its supporters attracted extensive attention to the plight of the Ukrainian nation as grounds for cancelling the summer Olympics in Moscow.

Concern with the Carter administration's focusing solely on the Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan as justification for an Olympic boycott and, the unconscionable policies of the International Olympic Committee and its president, Lord Killanin, in refusing to consider moving the Olympics out of Moscow, dictated the strategy of singling out the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York City and the Lake Placid Olympics as the sites for broadranging activities to bring the issue of Ukraine's colonial status into the Olympic boycott debate.

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U.N. PROTEST

The week long activities began on February 17, three days prior to President Carter's deadline for pulling the United States out of the Moscow Olympics. Members of The Ukrainian Student Association Of Michnowsky (TUSM) and The Federation of Ukrainian Student Associations of America (SUSTA) held a demonstration at the United States U.N Mission to demand that the President honour his commitment to announce the U.S. boycott by February 20. In addition to the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, the colonization of Ukraine and other non-Russian nations was cited as reasons for not delaying the Presidential announcement. The two student organizations delivered a statement to the U.S. Mission which "condemned Soviet Russia's colonial exploitation of the people and resources of Ukraine by misrepresenting the genuine aspirations of the Ukrainian nation" and "deplored the illegal military occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia and the forceful removal of Ukrainians from Ukraine for military and genocidal purposes". The statement concluded by urging "President Carter, the U.S. Olympic Committee, U.S. athletes and the people of the U.S. to boycott the 190 Moscow Olympics".

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TAKING THE MESSAGE TO LAKE PLACID

The first Ukrainian demonstrators from the United States and Canada arrived in Lake Placid on Wednesday February 20. Their objectives were to make their demands known to the 4,000 journalists in the Olympic Press Centre, to apprise the International Olympic Committee of the terror and suffering in Ukraine, to confront Soviet athletes and their KGB "watchdogs" and to elicit support for the boycott from the spectators attending the winter games.

The Ukrainian Liberation Front's Central Ukrainian Information Service

correspondent conducted daily press briefings and distributed press kits to virtually all news bureaus located in the Olympic Press Centre.

Three events had U.L.F. protesters on hand: speed skating competition, U.S.S.R. vs Canada and U.S.S.R. vs. U.S.A. hockey games. Besides displaying Ukrainian flags and banners the protesters found themselves sitting in a section primarily occupied with spectators from the U.S.S.R. Taking advantage of this unusual opportunity the U.L.F. representatives produced Russian and Ukrainian language leaflets and attempted to distribute them to the spectators.

During the U.S.S.R. vs U.S.A. semi-final game the four Ukrainian flags were shown on ABC-TV.

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OCCUPATION OF I.O.C. HEADQUARTERS

After several unsuccessful attempts at arranging a meeting with the President of the International Olympic Committee, Lord Killanin, a portion of the U.L.F. group numbering 16 individuals entered the Lake Placid Hotel and made their way to I.O.C. headquarters in the Governor's Hall. Rushing past two security guards the sixteen entered the main office and announced an occupation, demanding that Lord Killanin meet with U.L.F. representatives. During the one hour confrontation I.O.C. operations were suspended. The protesters were forcibly evicted by New York State Troopers, but were allowed to exit through the main Hotel lobby where they first sang the Ukrainian national anthem before being hustled out into the street. Although detained, the protesters were not arrested. Apparently the I.O.C. did not want the press coverage that the arrest of the demonstrators would have evoked.

In front of the Lake Placid Hotel the protesters explained to journalists that "already 44 countries, hundreds of athletes and millions of outraged men and women are saying no to Moscow as the site of the 1980 summer Olympic games. "However", they added, "Lord Killanin and the I.O.C. continue to refuse to pull their heads out of the sand and realize that the world will not stand for sending the Olympic flag and flame to Moscow". They stressed that "from Ukraine in Europe to Afganistan in South-west Asia, Soviet Russia has occupied and colonized dozens of nations, maintaining control through the physical destruction of millions who would not succumb to their domination". "But, the I.O.C. remains oblivious to this reality, they said. "It continues, in the face of the growing international boycott, to rely on its patented response of refusing to allow 'politics' to influence the Olympics". The protesters asked rhetorically "how will the peoples behind the Iron Curtain understand our actions if we maintain that the integrity of international sports supersedes universal principles of national and human rights?" "The most effective way", they said, "to demonstrate our concern to the Soviet Russian regime and, more importantly, to the voices of freedom reverberating throughout the empire is to say no to the

Moscow Olympics!" News of the U.L.F. occupation was broadcast into the U.S.S.R. by Voice of America, February 24.

With some 50,000 spectators attending the Olympic games each day, street demonstrations proved the most effective means for mobilizing popular support for boycotting the Moscow Olympics. Besides Ukrainian flags, large banners, placards and 20,000 leaflets, the U.L.F. protesters had with them the symbol of Soviet Russian might — a Russian Bear — (a protester dressed in a bear costume). The bear, with a large red star on his forehead and the hammer and sickle on his chest, held a rifle in one hand, and a chain that bound a Ukrainian girl holding a Ukrainian flag, in the other. The demonstrations, attended by 30 U.L.F. protesters, were held at the Olympic Centre. The demonstrations were received with such enthusiasm that at times the thousands of spectators that stopped to view the event disrupted the flow of traffic.

CONFRONTING THE SOVIETS

Having discovered the location of one of the residences of the Soviet Russia participants, the protesters distributed leaflets and brochures specifically written in Russian and directed to the Russian nation, a separate leaflet in Ukrainian was also distributed. Russians were confronted on shuttle buses, on the streets of Lake Placid, at Olympic events and at I.O.C. headquarters. Among them was Ihor Zareda, a former Soviet athlete and presently a journalist for the propaganda publication "Ukraina" Society. By Saturday, February 23, no visitors from the U.S.S.R. could be found on the streets of Lake Placid.

OLYMPICS PROTEST

A former Parliamentary and European Conservative Candidate, Cllr. Stefan Terlezki wrote to Minister for Sport, Hector Monro, urging him in powerful terms to boycott the Moscow Olympics. In his letter Cllr. Terlezki pointed out that "persecution of the Ukrainians, Jews, Latvians, Estonians and many other nationalities under Russian oppression is not an optical illusion" and that "by boycotting the Olympics the world would be expressing in the most dramatic and effective way its total disapproval of communist tyranny over its people". Cllr Terlezki said that the Soviet invasion of Afganistan made his argument inescapable. Cllr. Terlezki is a South Glamorgan County Councillor and a Cardiff City Councillor. He is actively involved in the campaign to break friendship link between Cardiff and the Ukrainian city of Voroshilovgrad which was recently renewed by the Labour City Council.

Cllr. Terlezki consolidated his attack on western participation in the games with a lengthy article in a prestigious local newspaper the *Western Mail*.

Roman SOLCHANYK

NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE ASPECTS OF THE 1979 CENSUS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

The recently published brochure *Naselenie SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda*. (Moscow, Politizdat, 1980) provides the most comprehensive data to emerge thus far from the Soviet census of 1979. The preliminary results of the census, published in the Soviet press on April 22, 1979, did not include any statistics on nationality or language affiliation. They did, however, reveal that the total population of Ukraine on January 17, 1979, stood at 49.757 million, which represents an increase of approximately 2.6 million or 5.6 percent during the nine-year period since the previous census in 1970.¹ The preliminary results also showed that there are five cities in Ukraine with a population of more than one million: Kyiv (2.144 million), Kharkiv (1.444 million), Dnipropetrovsk (1.066 million), Odessa (1.046 million), and Donetsk (1.021 million). In 1970, only Kyiv and Kharkiv had registered populations of over one million. Of the five cities now in this category, Kyiv has grown the fastest with a 31.4 percent increase in population since the previous census.²

On April 25, 1979, the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR issued its own report on the preliminary results for Ukraine, providing additional data that included the natural increase of the population and the ratio of males to females.³

More data on Ukraine were given by the Ukrainian Central Statistical Administration on December 30, 1979. These included statistics on the Ukrainian and Russian languages as native and second languages for the population of the republic as a whole and the percentage of the republic's population that claim the language of their nationality as their native language. The figure for the population of Ukraine was also revised downward, from 49.757 million to 49.755 million. No data were given on the national composition of the republic. The latest statistics reveal that in 1979 the permanent residents of Ukraine totalled 49.609 million; the remainder, approximately 146,000, were temporary residents, including foreigners.⁴

1. Based on the revised figure of 49.609 million permanent residents in Ukraine, the population increase between 1970 and 1979 is 5.3 percent.

2. For a survey of Kyiv's status in Ukraine, see Roman Szporluk, "Kyiv as the Ukraine's Primate City", in *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak on His Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, Vol. 3, 1979, of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (forthcoming). Nationality and language aspects of the 1979 census for Kyiv are analyzed in RL 68/80, "The Ukrainization of Kyiv Continues: Partial Results of the 1979 Census", February 15, 1980.

3. *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, April 25, 1979.

4. *Naselenie SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, p. 28.

In 1979, the number of Ukrainians in the USSR was 42.347 million. This represents an increase of approximately 1.6 million or 3.9 percent since 1970. During the period between 1970 and 1979 the Ukrainian population in the USSR grew less than half as fast as it had done between 1959 and 1970 (see Table 1). The Ukrainians registered the smallest percentage increase of the three Slavic nations. Indeed, of the nations with Union republic status only the Estonians and Latvians grew at a slower rate. In addition to a low birth rate, ethnic assimilation is undoubtedly responsible for part of the decline, especially among the approximately 14 percent of Ukrainians who live outside their own republic.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the results of the census in Ukraine is the numerical strength of the Russians: approximately 10.5 million, or 21 percent of the republic's population. The number of Russians in Ukraine has increased by about 1.3 million, or almost 15 percent since 1970. In absolute figures, the increase of the Russian population has exceeded that of the Ukrainian by approximately 141,000. The Ukrainian share of the republic's population has now dropped to 73.6 percent. In 1970 it stood at 74.9 percent and in 1959 at 76.8 percent (see Table 2).

Also noteworthy is the relatively high growth rate of the Moldavian minority in Ukraine, which is about twice the average for the republic as a whole. The Moldavians have now surpassed the Poles, whose numbers have continued to decline, although at a slower rate than between 1959 and 1970. The largest decline has now been registered by the Jews. The Jewish population of Ukraine has fallen by approximately 143,000, or 18.4 percent. In the Soviet Union as a whole, the number of Jews has decreased by 15.8 percent. This is partly to be explained by assimilation, although emigration has also been a significant factor.

Approximately 36.5 million, or 86.2 percent, of all Ukrainians in the USSR live in their own republic. This represents a relative decline since 1970. Of the 5.8 million living outside Ukraine, the largest concentrations are in the RSFSR (8.6 percent), Kazakhstan (2.1 percent), and Moldavia (1.3 percent), these republics accounting for approximately 5.1 million (see Table 3).

The Ukrainian population in the Baltic republics, although small, has increased more rapidly than elsewhere: by 28.6 percent in Estonia, by 28 percent in Lithuania, and by 26.4 percent in Latvia. In Belorussia, the number of Ukrainians has increased by almost 21 percent since 1970. The greatest decline among Ukrainians outside their own republic was in Georgia, where their numbers fell by 10 percent, followed by Kirghizia (9.2 percent) and Kazakhstan (3.8 percent). Overall, the number of Ukrainians outside the Ukrainian SSR increased by 7.1 percent during the period between 1970 and 1979. The corresponding figure for the period between 1959 and 1970 had been 7.3 percent (see Table 4).

The latest census statistics do not provide any data on the language structure of the individual republics. Earlier, the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR reported that 85.5 percent of Ukraine's total

population claimed the language of their nationality as their native language. As was to be expected, the largest increase has occurred among those who claim Russian as a second language: from 28.6 percent of the population in 1970 to 40 percent in 1979 (see Table 5).

The only new data on language provided by the latest census results are for the percentage of Ukrainians in the USSR who claim Ukrainian as their native language and for the percentage of Ukrainians who claim either Russian or some other language as their second language. In 1979, 82.8 percent of Ukrainians in the USSR claimed Ukrainian as their native language, down from 85.7 percent in 1970. Again, the largest increase has been among Ukrainians claiming Russian as a second language. They have increased from 36.3 percent in 1970 to 49.8 percent in 1979 (see Table 6).

TABLE 1 Number of Ukrainians in the USSR

	Actual (In Thousands)	Percentage of USSR Population	Percentage Change	
			1959-70	1970-79
1959	37,253	17.8	9.4	3.9
1970	40,753	16.9		
1979	42,347	16.2		

TABLE 2 National Composition of Ukrainian SSR, 1959-79

	1959		1970		1979		Percentage Change	
	(In Thousands)	Actual Population Percentage of Total Population	(In Thousands)	Actual Population Percentage of Total Population	(In Thousands)	Actual Population Percentage of Total Population		
Total	41,869	100.0	47,127	100.0	49,609*	100.0	12.6	5.3
of whom:								
Ukrainians	32,158	76.8	35,284	74.9	36,489	73.6	9.7	9.0
Russians	7,091	16.9	9,126	19.4	10,472	21.1	28.7	14.7
Jews	840	2.0	777	1.6	634	1.3	-7.5	-18.4
Byelorussians	291	0.7	386	0.8	406	0.8	32.6	5.2
Moldavians	242	0.6	266	0.6	294	0.6	9.9	10.5
Poles	363	0.9	295	0.6	258	0.5	-18.7	-12.5
Bulgarians	219	0.5	234	0.5	238	0.5	6.8	1.7
Others	664	1.6	758	1.6	818	1.6	14.2	7.9

* This figure excludes the approximately 146,000 persons, including foreigners, residing temporarily in Ukraine.

TABLE 3

Distribution of Ukrainians in the USSR, 1959-79

(As Percentages of Total Ukrainian Population)

Ukraine	86.3	86.6	86.2
RSFSR	9.0	8.2	8.6
Kazakhstan	2.0	2.3	2.1
Moldavia	1.1	1.2	1.3
Byelorussia	0.4	0.5	0.5
Kirghizia	0.4	0.3	0.3
Uzbekistan	0.2	0.3	0.3
Latvia	0.1	0.1	0.2
Georgia	0.1	0.1	0.1
Turkmenistan	0.06	0.1	0.09
Tajikistan	0.04	0.07	0.08
Azerbaijan	0.07	0.07	--*
Armenia	0.02	0.02	--*

TABLE 4

Ukrainians Living in Union Republics Other than the Ukrainian SSR, 1959-79^a

	1959		1970		1979			
	Actual Population (In Thousands)	Percentage of Republic Population	Actual Population (In Thousands)	Percentage of Republic Population	Actual Population (In Thousands)	Percentage of Republic Population	Percentage Change 1959-70	1970-79
Total	5,095		5,469		5,858		7.3	7.1
of whom:								
RSFSR	3,359	2.9	3,346	2.6	3,658	2.7	- 0.4	9.9
Kazakhstan	761	8.2	933	7.2	898	6.1	22.6	-3.8
Moldavia	421	14.6	507	14.2	561	14.2	20.4	10.6
Byelorussia	133	1.7	191	2.1	231	2.4	43.6	20.9
Uzbekistan	88	1.1	112	0.9	114	0.7	27.3	1.8
Kirghizia	137	6.6	120	4.1	109	3.1	-12.0	-9.2
Latvia	29	1.4	53	2.3	67	2.7	82.8	26.4
Georgia	52	1.3	50	1.1	45	0.9	-3.8	-10.0
Turkmenistan	21	1.4	35	1.6	37	1.3	66.7	5.7
Tajikistan	27	1.4	32	1.1	36	0.9	18.5	12.5
Estonia	16	1.3	28	2.1	36	2.5	75.0	28.6
Lithuania	18	0.7	25	0.8	32	0.9	38.9	28.0
Azerbaijan	26	0.7	29	0.6	--*	--*	11.5	--*
Armenia	6	0.3	8	0.3	--*	--*	11.5	--*

* Data on the number of Ukrainians in Azerbaijan and Armenia in 1979 are not available. Taken together, however, the number of Ukrainians in the two republics totalled 34,000 or .08 percent of all Ukrainians in the USSR.

TABLE 5

Speakers of Ukrainian and Russian in the Ukraine

As Native Language:

	1959		1970		1979	
	Actual (In Thousands)	As Percentage of Population	Actual (In Thousands)	As Percentage of Population	Actual (In Thousands)	As Percentage of Population
Ukrainian	30,562	73.0	32,702	69.4	32,900	66.3
Russian	10,172	24.3	13,254	28.1	15,500	31.2

As Second Language:

Ukrainian	—*	—*	4,431	9.4	5,800	11.7
Russian	—*	—*	13,487	28.6	19,900	40.1

TABLE 6

Language Affiliation of Ukrainians in USSR, 1959-79

	Ukrainian as		Second Language			
	Native Language		Russian		Other	
	Actual Number (Millions)	Percentage of Ukrainian Population	Actual Number (Millions)	Percentage of Ukrainian Population	Actual Number (Millions)	Percentage of Ukrainian Population
1959	32.681	87.7	—*	—*	—*	—*
1970	34.906	85.7	14.790	36.3	2.453	6.0
1979	—*	82.8	—**	49.8	—**	7.1

* Data on knowledge of a second language were not collected for the 1959 census.

** Absolute figures for 1979 are not available.

NATIONALITIES CRITICISE SAKHAROV HEARING

The International Sakharov Hearing representing itself as a defender of legality and legal norms in the USSR stubbornly refuses to consider problems concerning the nations aspiring to independence.

1. Thus, the International Sakharov Hearing refused to consider the problem of mass annihilation of Ukrainians and other non-Russians during the period of the genocide — by means of artificially created famine, executions by shooting, mass extermination by extremely harsh conditions in prisons, concentration camps and exile. The illegality of such actions of the Soviet authorities does not need any additional proofs.

By refusing to consider this question and to condemn those guilty in the murder of millions of people, the International Sakharov hearing loses every moral and legal right to grow indignant at the illegal arrests and other persecutions of individual persons. Otherwise, it would seem that if individual persons, among whom there are also Russians, are persecuted, then this is a crime about which one should shout for all the world to hear, but when millions of non-Russians have been killed because of their nationality, then this is a trifle on which one should not waste one's time. This is precisely the way in which the International Sakharov Hearing behaves for it responds to the proposal to consider the murder of millions of non-Russians with empty phrases. Such a proposal and the response to it by the International Sakharov Hearing were published in the press (the journal, *Fakty i Mysli* (Facts and Thought No. 7 and No. 10, New York, 1979).

2. The International Sakharov Hearing refuses to consider the question of granting independence to the non-Russian nations, although the refusal to grant them independence is, on the part of the Soviet Government, a gross violation of the international law and pacts and treaties ratified by that very same Soviet government (the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Art. 1, p. 1 and p. 3; Art. 2, p. 2; Art. 4; Art. 5, p. 1, *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR* (Record of the USSR Supreme Soviet), Moscow, 1976; journal, *Fakty i Mysli*, No. 14, New York, 1979).

In spite of the international obligations taken upon itself (the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Art. 2, p. 2, Art. 25), on July 5, 1978 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the law "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR" (*Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Sovieta SSSR*, No. 28, Moscow, 1978), in accordance with which the management of the principal enterprises (plants, factories, mines, etc.) in the national republics is implemented by Moscow all-union ministries of the USSR directly, by-passing the ministries and communist parties of the national republics. In accordance with Soviet

legislation, any enterprise in the territory of a national republic may be directly subordinated to the all-Union Moscow ministry by a decision of all Union (Moscow) authorities, i.e. without asking the government of the national republic. To this one should add the single monetary system and the obligatory approval by Moscow of prices and wages in the national republics, and one shall find that the national republics are completely deprived not only of every right, but also of any possibility to have a say with regard to the utilization of their own economic resources completely put at the service of the Russian occupying power.

In accordance with Soviet laws, Moscow ministers or ministerial departments may take decisions about the type of production, transfer and liquidation of enterprises and institutions directly subordinated to them, situated in the territory of the national republics, without even notifying the "government" of these republics. According to Article 23 of the Law, "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR", the enterprises and institutions of the following ministries are directly (by-passing the Republic organs of power) subordinated to the ministries of the Moscow government:

- the Ministry of Aviation Industry,
- the Ministry of Automobile Industry;
- the Ministry of Foreign Trade;
- the Ministry of Gas Industry;
- the Ministry of Civil Aviation;
- the Ministry of Machine-building;
- the Ministry of Machine-building for Animal Farming and Fodder Production;
- the Ministry of Machine-building for Light and Food Industry and Everyday Services;
- the Ministry of Medical Industry;
- the Ministry of Merchant Marine;
- the Ministry of Petroleum Industry;
- the Ministry of Defence Industry;
- the Ministry of Instrument-making;
- the Ministry of Automation and Control Systems;
- the Ministry of the Means of Communication;
- the Ministry of Ways of Communication;
- the Ministry of Radio Industry;
- the Ministry of Medium Machine-building;
- the Ministry of Machine-Tool and Instrument Industry;
- the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine-building;
- the Ministry of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises;
- the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry;
- the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Engineering;
- the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Engineering;

the Ministry of Pulp and Paper Industry;
the Ministry of Electronic Industry;
the Ministry of Electrical Industry;
the Ministry of Power Plant Engineering.

The enterprises and institutions subordinated to the Union-Republic ministries and situated in the territory of national republics — according to Art. 21 of the Law, "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR" — are also managed from Moscow, but the task of implementation of the orders of Moscow ministers is usually placed upon the shoulders of the ministers of national republics, subordinated to them (in accordance with law). In accordance with Article 24 of the Law, "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR", the enterprises and institutions of the following ministries belong to this category:

the Ministry of the Interior;
the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education;
the Ministry of Geology;
the Ministry of Purchases;
the Ministry of Health;
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
the Ministry of Culture;
the Ministry of the Light Industry;
the Ministry of Timber and Woodworking Industry;
the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Management;
the Ministry of Assembly and Special Construction Work;
the Ministry of Meat-packing and Dairy Industry;
the Ministry of Petroleum Processing and Petrochemical Industry;
the Ministry of Food Industry;
the Ministry of Industrial Construction;
the Ministry of Building Materials Industry;
the Ministry of Education;
the Ministry of the Fishing Industry;
the Ministry of Communications;
the Ministry of Agriculture;
the Ministry of Construction;
the Ministry of Construction of the Heavy Industry Enterprises;
the Ministry of Trade;
the Ministry of Coal Industry;
the Ministry of Finance;
the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy;
the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy;
the Ministry of Power Industry and Electrification;
the Ministry of Justice.

In addition, in accordance with Article 25 of the Law, "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR", the enterprises and institutions

situated in the territories of the national republics, within the jurisdiction of the following committees, are directly subordinated to the Moscow All-Union State Committees:

- the Committee for Science and Technology;
- the Committee for Inventions and Discoveries;
- the Committee for Standards;
- the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations;
- the Committee for Hydrometeorology;
- the Committee for Materials Reserves;

and, in accordance with Article 26 of the Law, "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR", the enterprises and institutions situated in the territories of the national republics, and managed by the Moscow committees through the legislatively subordinated to them republican committees, are subordinated to the Moscow Union-Republican State Committees; these Committees are the following ones:

- the State Planning Committee;
- the Committee for Construction Affairs;
- the Committee for Material and Technical Supply;
- the Committee for Labour and Social Problems;
- the Committee for Prices;
- the Committee for Professional and Technical Education;
- the Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting;
- the Committee for Cinematography (Movie Industry);
- the Committee for the Affairs of Publishing, Printing, and Book Trade;
- the Committee for Forestry;
- the Committee of State Security (KGB);
- the Committee of Industrial and Technical Supplies for Agriculture.

After all this what then remains for the management by the "governments" of the national republics? And this kind of legislation exists in the USSR contrary to international treaties signed by its own representatives. This is a gross violation of legal norms, a legislative sanctioning of the pillage of the national republics. The International Sakharov Hearing, however, does not wish to consider this question.

3. In 1977, in spite of the international obligation to encourage self-determination of the peoples (the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Art. 1, p. 1 and p. 3), a new constitution was adopted in the USSR, legalizing the enslavement of the national republics, about the self-determination of which the Soviet government obligated itself to care.

Article 6 of the new Soviet Constitution places on the Communist Party the obligation to determine the internal and foreign policy of

the Soviet Union (all the republics). This is, however, a Russian party; earlier it used to be known as the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (of the Bolsheviks). Its renaming did not change anything. The CPSU is that very same Russian party, with its supreme organs in the capital of the Russian State — Moscow. The branches of this party in the national republics, just as the "governments" of these republics, do not have any influence not only on general State matters, but also on the management of the overwhelming majority of even small plants and factories situated in the territories of their republics.

Article 72 of the Constitution guarantees for each republic the right of secession from the USSR but is in fact reduced to zero by the article 73, p. 2, which refers the question of modification of the borders of the USSR to the prerogative of the all-Union (Moscow) authorities, and Soviet criminal law punishes even with death any activity with the purpose of separating a national republic from the USSR. Consequently, according to the Soviet legislation, it is only the highest Moscow authorities that have any right to separate a national republic from the USSR, but in no case the people or the government of that particular republic. No procedure for a national republic leaving the Soviet Union at the wish of its people or government is envisaged by the Soviet legislation. On the other hand, criminal punishment for any activity having the purpose of separating a national republic from the USSR is envisaged.

Article 77 of the Soviet Constitution makes it incumbent on every union republic to implement the decisions of the all-union (Moscow) authorities, and Article 140 even makes it incumbent upon the "government" of the national republics to check whether Moscow's orders are being implemented in their republics.

Article 73 of the Soviet Constitution refers to the prerogative of the all-union (Moscow) authorities the establishment of general principles of activity of the organs of power of the national republics, ensuring uniformity of legislation in the entire Soviet Union, the problems of peace and war, management of the army, establishment of the rules for the relations between the national republics and foreign states. This and other articles list so many prerogatives of the all-union authorities that the "governments" of the national republics are deprived by legislation of any similitude of governmental authority.

This means that the Soviet internal legislation contradicts the international obligations of the Soviet government.

The hearing on legal problems should bring it to the notice of the world community that the Soviet internal legislation contradicts sharply international agreements ratified by the Soviet government, and should demand from the Soviet government to bring its internal

laws and practice with respect to the national question into conformity with its international obligations. However, the International Sakharov Hearing does not find it necessary to consider this problem.

4. The Soviet government conducts a policy of Russification in all the national republics, making every effort to bring about the loss of their national individuality by the non-Russian peoples. A planned intermixing of the nations is carried out. Under various pretexts and in various ways, people of other nationalities are brought to each national republic, and the native population is sent to other republics. The Russian language is the official state language in all national republics except Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Teaching in Russian is permitted and encouraged throughout the entire territory of the Soviet Union, while teaching in the languages of other nations of the USSR is permitted only in the territory of their respective republics, regions, or districts (in violation of Article 13, p. 3 and p. 4 of the International Pact on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

Notwithstanding the Article 36 of the Soviet Constitution forbidding any preaching of national exclusivity, the Soviet government carries on a shameless propaganda of the superiority of the Russian nation — of the Russian language, Russian character, Russian soul, Russian culture, glorifies the conquests of the non-Russian territories by tsarist armies, tries to prove that the Russians have priority in all the fields of science, etc. Russia is called great even in the State anthem of the Soviet Union.

Such actions of the Soviet government are a gross violation of the international obligations accepted by this very same government. For instance, the International Pact on the Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, ratified by the USSR in 1976, requires from each signing State that it guarantees the absence of discrimination due to the national characteristic in the field of education, culture, utilization of economic resources, etc. (Art. 2, p. 2).

The impudent propaganda of superiority of the Russian nation, contamination of the children with the poison of chauvinism, carried out by the Soviet government, lead to the dehumanization of a section of the Russian people, made them look at the non-Russian from above and think that with respect to the non-Russians anything is permitted. However, the International Sakharov Hearing does not wish to consider this crime either.

The above-stated facts show that the International Sakharov Hearing is indifferent to the situation of the non-Russian in the USSR, and that it does not wish to consider the problems of the violation of the rights of the non-Russian nations and of the crimes committed in relation to these nations.

The International Sakharov Hearing conducts itself as an assemblage of Russian chauvinists trying to prevent consideration of

the right of nations to self-determination, and it covers itself up by the alleged defence of human rights. But if one takes away the right to the absence of discrimination in the sphere of language, culture, and economics, if one takes away the right at least not to listen to the Soviet ravings about the superiority of the Russians, about great Russia, and about the Russian priority in science, what remains from these rights for the non-Russians?

Discussion by the International Sakharov Hearing of the violation of the rights of individual nationalities without any discussion of the question of the violation of the rights of their nations, as well as discussion of crimes only in relation to very small peoples who do not demand independence, without discussing the crimes in relation to large nations demanding independence, to whom an overwhelming majority of the victims of the Stalinist terror belonged, amounts to demagoguery.

If the International Sakharov Hearing does not change its attitude towards the nations of the national republics subjugated by Moscow rulers, it must reckon with a boycott on the part of these nations.

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Yakiv SUSLENSKYJ

National Liberation Fight in the U.S.S.R. and the Zionist Movement

In Mordovian and Perm concentration camps, in Siberian exile, and in the infamous Moscow Vladimir Prison we find numerous participants of national-liberation movements of different generations. There we can meet greyhaired, crippled and mutilated "Banderites", participants of O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) — U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) battles, as well as Lithuanian "Brothers of the Forest" (partisans). There I met and conversed with Viktor Solodkyj, who is completing his 36-year term of imprisonment; Andriy Turyk, who in 1982 will complete his 32-year sentence; and Yuri Shukhevych, the son of Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — U.P.A., who was killed in action in 1950. Yuri Shukhevych is completing his 30-year sentence. After 25 years of imprisonment, Evhen Pryshlak, Ivan Pokrovskyj, Stepan Vovchanskyj, Mychajlo Prociw, Ivan Ilchuk and others were released not long ago.

Many Ukrainian nationalists of the older generation were made "criminally" responsible for the second time (sentenced and imprisoned twice for the same "crime"). Among those known to me are Bohdan Chujko, Andriy Moroz, Ivan Stolar.

Formerly active patriots and nationalists of Baltic countries are also not left in peace. In 1974 in the Vladimir Prison, I met a group of Latvian nationalists from the war years — Elias Tumilkans, Vishker and Irbitis — also sentenced shortly beforehand. Some former O.U.N. members, even in their present circumstances, have not surrendered, they have only altered the form of their struggle — from using firearms to using propaganda.

In this way, in 1967, a group of old partisans of the Lviv Region was sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Some of them — Ivan Hubka and Prokopovych — have just this year completed their long terms of exile. Other participants of these 1967 proceedings are still serving their sentences, in particular Zinovij Krasivskyj, a member of an underground organization "Ukrainian National Front".

National liberation movements in the U.S.S.R. have not ceased during the entire era of Russian domination — once in a while they quiet down only to again awaken with renewed vigour. Sometimes this flame sparks up as a complete surprise to the governing authorities, like the 1968 events in Tashkent, or the awakening of nationalism in Moldavia at the end of the sixties.

The most active display of national liberation movements are — the struggle of the Ukrainians, particularly of the western regions, for an independent Ukraine; the struggle of the Baltic nations, particularly Lithuania, for independence from the Russian Empire and national sovereignty; the struggle of the Armenians for an independent Armenia in its historical boundaries; the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for their right to return to their lands; the struggle of the Germans for their right to emigrate to Germany; and the widespread and successful struggle of Jews for their right to emigrate to Israel and the West.

In overwhelming numbers, the youth of Ukraine is taking the places of the elder generation of Ukrainian nationalists. The rebirth of celebrations of purely Ukrainian national holidays and commemorative days is widespread. Nationalistic spirit is growing in strength among all Ukrainians, publication and circulation of "samvydav" (Ukrainian underground publication), like the *Ukrainian Visnyk* (*Ukrainian Herald*) is constantly expanding. At the beginning of the seventies, a group headed by Zorian Popadiuk, a student in Lviv, was engaged in such publishing activity. A group of Ternopil students headed by Stepan Sapelak were not satisfied by this sort of propaganda only and turned to displaying Ukrainian national flags, destroying statues of Lenin and distributing inflammatory pamphlets. It should be noted that Ukrainians constitute a majority of all political prisoners of the U.S.S.R.

New repressions in Ukraine were the features of the sixties and seventies. A group of lawyers, Levko Lukyanenko, Ivan Kandyba and others, who attested to the legal constitutional right of Ukraine to withdraw from the Soviet Union, were arrested in 1961 in Lviv. In 1965, the Russian authorities decided to crush Ukrainian opposition once and for all. A wave of political trials, searches, terror and pressure upon thousands of individuals followed. During the early sixties, we witnessed the rise of the second citadel, after Lviv, of Ukrainian national rebirth — the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv. The activities of Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychnyj, Evhen Sverstiuk, Zenovia Franko, Mykola Kholodnyj, Vasyl Stus, Ihor and Irena Kalynec, Zenovij Antoniuk, Olexander Serhijenko and others proved to be most successful in awakening national consciousness in many formerly russified Ukrainians. This is most startlingly evidenced by the life, genius and tragic death of Alla Horska.

Literary evenings conducted for the youth by Ukrainian educators, like a day commemorating Taras Shevchenko, are attended by hundreds. In halls and on public squares vivid discussions and readings of "rebellious" poems are taking place. The activities of the Kyivan intelligentsia found their echo of support in various regions and cities situated far from the capital. In Rivne they were supported by Valentyn Moroz, in Odessa by Nina Strokata and Oleksij Melnykiv, in Lviv by Vyacheslav Chornovil. The term "shestydesiatnyky" (activists of the sixties) emerged in Ukraine and received its due in printed literature there and in the West. Such literary-political

works as *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dzyuba, *Diary* by Vasyl Symonenko, the poems of Vinhranowskyj and Kholodnyj, *Report from Beria Reserve* by Valentyn Moroz were widely distributed. There were also some cases of outward protest. In the camps, I became friends with Mykola Bereslavskyj who attempted self-immolation and Mykola Bondar, who, on November 7, 1970 during a demonstration on Khreshchatyk Boulevard in Kyiv, courageously unfurled a placard proclaiming "Shame to the criminal leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union".

At the beginning of 1972, the movement of Ukrainian rebirth received a severe blow. Prominent leaders and participants of this movement were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Hundreds and thousands of persons were persecuted.

Among other subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R., the most perceptible nationalist movements exist in Armenia and Lithuania.

In 1965, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the mass murder of Armenians in Turkey, 50,000 people demonstrated in Erevan, the capital of Armenia.

In 1968, artist Ajkazun Khachatrian and others with similar beliefs organized the Nationally-United Party of Armenia. From 1967 to 1975, fifty members of this Party were tried in 18 different proceedings.

The incidents in Kaunas, capital of Lithuania, illustrated the vitality among Lithuanians of the spirit of resistance and their desire for national independence. The whole city reacted to the self-immolation of Kalant. Soon an underground organization emerged under the leadership of Sharunas Zhukauskas. With the help of a magazine entitled *Naulyasis Varpas (New Bell)*, the organization planned to inform the citizenry about the oppressive activities of the Soviet-Russian Government against the Lithuanian people. Six members of this organization were sentenced and imprisoned.

Most Lithuanians are Catholics. Their national fight is closely interwoven with their fight for freedom of religious expression. They publish an underground magazine entitled the *Herald of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. Adherence to national customs, rituals of national holidays, celebrations, weddings — all of these deepen the feeling of national identity.

The Lithuanian Group for Monitoring the Implementation of Helsinki Agreements was devastated, as were other similar groups. Balis Hayauskas, after completing his twenty-five years of imprisonment, and after enjoying only four years of so-called freedom, was again sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment.

Generally, in Soviet-Russian concentration camps, international in scope through their contingent of prisoners, people unite, rightfully, by nationalities. Less frequently, they also unite by religions, ideologies, and seldom by age or profession. Among some nationalities particularly strong bonds of friendship and loyalty develop. In Mordovia's Third Zone, Armenians developed close ties of friendship with Latvians, Jews with Ukrainians. Such united nationalities, together, prepared documents, petitions and organized various actions.

However, an overwhelming majority of prisoners of Russian nationality practiced separability. All of them were great believers in one, great and indivisible "Russia", enslaving other countries; therefore, they provoked hostile feelings in nationalists desiring national independence from Russia. Only steadfast democrats such as Volodymyr Bukowsky, Kronid Lubarsky and Yehor Davydov were trusted by the nationalists.

In the camp, the nationalists developed liasons for broader actions against their common enemy — Russian imperialism. Nationalists from different parts of the U.S.S.R. advanced common programs and common demands. The West knows about the "*Message to the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R.*", by political prisoners of the Baltic countries, Ukraine and the Caucasus. Signed by nineteen political prisoners, this document exposes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its policy of national oppression, and presents the demands of the non-Russian countries.

The national-Zionist movement in Russia began long before the appearance of Herzl's political Zionism. It grew and developed in conjunction with the increase in popularity of transmigration to Israel and the establishment of a Jewish National State. After the February, 1917 Revolution, the number of organized Zionists expanded to 300,000 members. A whole string of Zionist parties was organized.

The new Soviet-Russian regime was unable to tolerate the existence of Jewish parties, especially Zionist. In 1926 (or in accordance with other sources, in 1930), the last Zionist party was liquidated. In the twenties, any emigration beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. was curtailed and then completely stopped. This gave rise to an underground movement of illegal emigration and dissemination of ideals of Zionism. The Population of Soviet-Russian concentration camps was increased by numerous Zionists. However, the majority of Zionists, hiding their feelings and beliefs, reconciled themselves to this new bolshevik regime.

In the years before World War II, resulting from the Russian occupational enslavement of western territories by Russian soldiers, a large number of Jews from the Baltic countries, Bessarabia and Western Ukraine moved to territorial Russia. The outcome of these banishments, mobilization and evacuation resulted in these Zionists dispersing throughout the entire U.S.S.R., spreading Zionist ideals among Jews, who, by that time, had already tasted the joys of Soviet-Russian power.

In the years after World War II, the persecution of Jews, as such, began, when many Jews were accused, with or without cause, of Zionist beliefs.

A renewed mood of anti-semitism was caused by the failure of the experiment of socialism, by the cruel tyranny, and by the turmoil and hunger of the years immediately following World War II. Unofficially, officials of the Soviet-Russian government, which by that time was "clean" of any Jewish element, elevated anti-semitism to the level of governmental policy. Discrimination against, unfounded persecution of, and the assimilation of Jews, together with unlawful "Judophobia" became the norm in treatment of Jews by the regime of the U.S.S.R.

On the other hand, the establishment of Israel, the social self-assurance of Jews which increased during the years after Stalin, the growth of economic potential, military and political prestige of Israel, the solidarity of western Jewry with Jews of the U.S.S.R., and the support of the West — all awakened in Soviet Jews their feelings of nationalism and rightful entitlement.

In the middle of the sixties, particularly after the Six-Day War, various Zionist societies and groups were formed. In some cities (Riga, Leningrad and Moscow) committees to co-ordinate the work of such societies or groups were created, which also correlated documents for transmittal to the West and Soviet-Russian governmental agencies, gathered signatures on different petitions, obtained and distributed educational literature, published a newspaper entitled *Iton*, and disseminated the ideals of Zionism.

A noteworthy fact is that at the beginning of the sixties, a group of Jews organized and headed by David Bizcel, steadfastly resolved to emigrate to Israel. Persecuted by the government, they, for many years, lived in harsh conditions in the forests of the mountainous Caucasus, but never losing their faith that eventually they would succeed. In 1968, David Bizcel and Uri Markyn were imprisoned. One of their group received a sentence of three years for refusal to serve in the Red Army, and, upon completion of his term, was killed. Presently, approximately eighty individual members of this group are living in Israel.

For purposes of illustration, I will use the classifications found in a collection of documents entitled *The Question of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R.*, page 355, as follows:

At the beginnig of the seventies, Soviet Jews were divided into three parts:

- (a) Jews who lost their national consciousness [or were close to doing so] and attempted to become assimilated into the nation of their domicile;
- (b) Jews who undertood that Jewish national existence in the U.S.S.R. was impossible and were attempting to emigrate to Israel; and
- (c) Jews, who still possessed illusions and did not realise the absolute necessity of choice between assimilation and emigration.

This was reflected amongst Jewish political prisoners. Some Jews completely lost their national identity and, together with Russians and other russified national minorities, criticized the Soviet-Russian order and dreamed of a new Russian revolution. Such, for example, was the group of Khakhayeva-Ronkin. A group of engineers in Leningrad, Yoffe and others, from its position of true Marxism-Leninism accused revisionists-Marxists-Leninists and dreamed about humane socialism. Anatoliy Berger, a Leningrad poet, who became saturated by the Russian culture, considers himself a Russian poet and, despite his sympaties toward Israel, is unable to tear himself away from these Russian roots, even though he was sentenced to four years of groundless imprisonment and two years of exile. Yulij Daniel remains a Russian poet with a Russian face.

Other Jews, for example member of the Riazan-Saratov Marxist group

of Budka-Senin, which called for social revolution in Russia, fell apart in 1970 — Jews turning to Zionism and Russians to Christianity. Members of this group — brothers Budka, Shymon Hrylus, Oleh Frolov and Sasha Uchytel — wound up in Israel. They consider their former Marxist ideals as foolish youthful mistakes. In this way, those Jews who linked the resolution of the Jewish problem in Russia with a victorious social revolution, soon changed their beliefs. This was helped by the constantly growing influence of the Zionists — participants of the Leningrad, Riga and Kyshyniv trials of 1970-71, who wound up in concentration camps. Under their influence, my friend Yosyf Meshener and I finally decided to go to Israel. Barukh Shylkrat decided to do the same. Mychajlo Khejfec, who is presently in exile and Semen Gluzman, who is presently a prisoner in a Ural camp, came very near to such decisions. Mychajlo Makarenko (Horshkovych), who emigrated to the West, remained true to his dissident-democratic ideals. Apparently, a similar fate awaits Christian-Jews Harry Superfin and Lev Ladyzhevskij.

Lately, a strong desire could be noted on the part of Jews of the U.S.S.R. to emigrate to America. It could be clearly said that we are talking not about transmigration to Israel, but emigration from the U.S.S.R., not about a Zionist movement, but about a European movement. More and more Jews from the U.S.S.R. are beginning to realize the necessity of fleeing the U.S.S.R. Most of them do not nurture any more hopes of changes within Russia — nor of any democratic reforms, nor of any changes in the regime or social climate, nor of any rebirth of national life, nor even of any betterment of the standard of living. Therefore, the most accurate description, in my opinion, of the Jewish movement in the U.S.S.R., is a movement for departure from the U.S.S.R.

Translated from Ukrainian by
Zena Matla-Rychtycka

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Dr. Bohdan STEBELSKY

CULTURE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINE

The Russian occupation of Ukraine has its origins in the tragic Pereyaslav Treaty. Khmelnytsky had imagined that the union of two equal nations would gradually lead to the "re-unification" of Ukraine with Russia — as the current dictators in the Kremlin image. The very words "eternal reunification" imply that Moscow intends to absorb the Ukrainian nation into the Russian nation.

However, the political occupation of a nation alone cannot lead to the success of such a plan. The occupied nation retains its spirituality, its culture, its world-outlook. Thus the nation is not occupied, but has merely been deprived of its freedom. It strives to regain its freedom. Such a nation is a living nation. Proof of this can be found with Mazeppa and the battle of Poltava; the 22nd January 1918 and the Proclamation of the Fourth Universal by the Centralna Rada; the military congresses convened by Ukrainian soldiers during the czarist occupation; the renewed Proclamation of Ukrainian Sovereignty on the 30th June, 1941.

Although the czarist regime devised the Ems Decree, forbidding the Ukrainian written word, exiled Shevchenko and other such guardians of the Ukrainian nation to Siberia, the nation continued to live: its root continued to proliferate the enemy's attempts to destroy it.

The second Russian occupation, the Bolshevik occupation was not content with merely destroying the branches of the Ukrainian national tree, but instigated a lethal attack against its root and vital strength — the peasantry. The enemy not only intended to destroy the nation through biological genocide, but also wished to ensure the elimination of the bearer of the traditions of the Ukrainian national culture — the peasantry.

It may seem paradoxical that our peasantry and not the intelligentsia are the bearers of cultural traditions, but it is a historical truth that the Ukrainian intelligentsia has not always worked for the interests of the nation: they were often alienated from the core of the nation, absorbed foreign hostile ideals such as socialism-Marxism. They thus weakened the nation, dividing it into antagonistic classes and destroyed national unity by sowing discord into the nation's soul. As Shevchenko said, the nation awoke from its sleep plundered.

In order to help the Ukrainian nation in her struggle against her occupier, it is imperative to know everything about the enemy — its actions, plans, its attempts to spiritually and physically destroy the Ukrainian nation. The enemy disguises its true aims, using the method of the Marxist-Leninist

dialectic. It falsifies facts, uses slogans whose true meanings are totally obscured. The Leninist dialectic is clearly illustrated in the slogan: "land for the peasants, factories for the workers". This was followed by collectivisation, which deprived the peasants of their land and enslaved them in the collective farm system; it established state control over factories and industrial plants and gave the state the right to deport people from every republic to any part of the empire it chose under the guise of constructing socialism. Absolute control over mankind, man's deprivation of human rights — this is the path leading to the levelling of nations and their merger into one Soviet community, justified by so-called "internationalism", but leading to total Russification.

This process began with the attempt to physically eliminate nations through collectivisation. On the cultural front levelling was initiated with a decision passed by the CPSU on the 23rd April 1932: "The re-organisation of literary-artistic societies". The once independent societies — "VUSPP", "Pluh", "Vaplite", "Hart", "Molodnyak" and others — were disbanded and replaced by the Union of Writers in Ukraine.

Every original style of literature that appeared in Ukraine (neoclassicism, neoromanticism, symbolism, futurism etc.) was prohibited. One compulsory style replaced them all: socialist realism, whose function was to preach the construction of communism, to glorify its "achievements" and its "joys". The function of this style was to achieve the victory of communism and to disseminate hatred for its enemies. The positive heroes of literature were the creators of communism and their mentors, while the negative heroes were the "saboteurs" of communism, usually "bourgeois nationalists".

Similarly all independent artistic societies were disbanded in 1938. Thus "ARMU", "OSMU", "OMMU" and others were replaced by the Union of Artists in Ukraine.

A Union of Composers was established in 1941 and a Union of Journalists in 1959. Other artistic societies were also established at that time — and also failed to bear a Ukrainian title. These unions were international, and only happened to be based in Ukraine. They all lost their independent ideological stances and fell under the direct control of the CPSU, based in the heart of the empire — Moscow.

Those Ukrainian cultural activists who worked within and without the framework of unions and who expressed their views on the development of culture were arrested, deported or vanished without trials being conducted. Those who remained composed eulogistic odes dedicated to the occupiers, praised their coercive methods, the genocide of the Ukrainian nation as the greatest step forward in the development of mankind.

Although Moscow's communism advocated the war of the international bourgeoisie, this was only in theory. In practice the so-called "bourgeois nationalists" were Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples under the

dominance of Moscow. Russians themselves very rarely came into this category simply because they were not a persecuted race, because the term "internationalism" was and is synonymous with Russian imperialism, and Russians cannot act against the interests of the Russian empire. Proof of this can be found in those Russian dissidents who arrive in the West and defend the Russian empire, and whose only concern is with human rights and the "democratisation" of the regime.

It so happened that the whole of the Soviet controlled legal culture with its republican affiliates, including Ukraine, became a means of repressing national cultures and their independent traditions.

Soviet culture represses national cultures. It is the cross in the grave of true Ukrainian culture, which is driven deeper by those Ukrainian cultural activists who act on the instructions of the occupiers.

Collectivisation not only affected the economy, but it had a devastating effect on culture. It collectivised thoughts, the community, creativity. It attempted to make men uniform, to make them obey each dictate given from above. It attempted to impose total dictatorship.

Those who did not and do not submit to those orders are considered superfluous; if they happen to be cultural activists, they are destroyed in their thousands; if they are peasants or workers who respect their national heritage, believe in God, love their nation and her culture, traditions, and legacies — they are destroyed in their millions.

Education, literature, the arts have become the education, literature, and art of the party.

Moscow intends to prove that the Ukrainian nation is synonymous with the Russian nation, that only one nationality existed during the period of Kyivan Rus' — that of the Russian nation, and that it was only the Tartar invasion of the 16th Century that caused the division into three nationalities — the Russians themselves, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians. Total "re-unification" involves the merging of languages, literatures, arts, in a word the mergence of national cultures. The nations themselves, Moscow claims, desire this mergence, and the process itself forms the basis for the falsification of history, and in particular of the Pereyaslav Treaty which Khmelnytsky drew up with Moscow.

This is the reason why everything that differentiates Ukrainians and Byelorussians from the Russian nation is labelled extinct, the extinct traditions of "bourgeois" culture, while on the contrary, everything that links the Ukrainian and Russian cultures are labelled as "new" traditions, progressive — and through which the CPSU develops and maintains its control.

Mixed marriages, in particular marriages between Ukrainians and Russians are endorsed because through them Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian language are lost and replaced by Russian culture and the Russian language. This process is labelled "internationalism" and the "construction of communism". Whosoever opposes this process is considered a "bourgeois nationalist" and an "enemy of the state".

True Ukrainian culture is repressed. Libraries are burnt down, specimens of Ukrainian culture vanish from museums and are replaced with the hybrids of "Soviet culture".

Recently artists have been deported along with the ordinary workers to help the "brother nations" from republic to republic. Russians are given high posts in the Ukrainian national government, while Ukrainians are deported to other republics for the purpose of "merging cultures" and in which process the Russians try to impose their own culture on the distinctive Ukrainian culture.

The scope of this essay does not allow me to draw the full picture of the destruction of Ukrainian culture waged by Moscow, but it is fully felt by those Ukrainian activists that Moscow has not been able to corrupt and who do not fear the reprisals wrought for their opposition.

Such opposition began at the time that the "personality cult" was first criticised. For a short time freer expression was allowed on the pages of the official press. Even Pavlychko who thought the "thaw" would soon blossom, declared: "If I do not tell the truth, may my pencil snap". But as soon as the first frosts appeared, Pavlychko, a slave of Moscow, wrote new lies, and sang new praise to Moscow. Symonenko, Moroz, Kalynets and many, many others did not submit to these pressures and continued to tell the truth.

The purpose of our auxilliary liberation front is to stand at the side of the scientists, artists, writers, workers who struggle against the enemy striving to attain the rights of their nation.

It is not enough to merely study all that is written by the defenders of Ukraine's rights, we must help them to disseminate what only they can tell us, as for example, Moroz's essay on Kosmach. We should show the falsities disseminated about Ukrainian archeology, history, anthropology, ethnography, economics, literature, art and so on. Russification has at last over-reached itself. Through the so-called cultural exchanges organised by the KGB between various courses held in Kyiv and countries of the West, the Ukrainian language in the West is being Russified and affects school textbooks and literature.

This onslaught on Ukrainian culture is so powerful that not even the greatest "patriots" can differentiate between Ukrainian and Russian art. Our teachers rely on Soviet literature, Soviet statistics. They equate Ukraine with the Ukr. SSR, forgetting the territories and people beyond the boundaries of the "Ukrainian Republic" — demarcated by the Russians. They publish school text books using authors who dedicated odes to Stalin, who proposed the "mergence of nations", praised Moscow — while omitting Malenyuk, Lypa, Olzhych, Mosendz, Teliha, and Klen. Why Soviet propaganda has convinced many members of the "intelligentsia" that to be a nationalist means, in the minds of pseudo-democrats, to be a totalitarian, chauvinist, racist — everything that Soviet propaganda in its press, literature and education is striving to achieve.

We often see maps of Ukraine that have been reproduced from Soviet maps. The boundaries of Ukraine are limited to those of the Ukr. SSR. Ethnographical boundaries are given inaccurately or completely ignored by Soviet statistics. Those lands where the Ukrainian language is used, where Ukrainian culture thrives, those lands that the Ukrainian plough tills should be included in the ethnographic map of Ukraine.

It is not for Moscow to decide what is and what is not Ukrainian territory — this right belongs to the Ukrainian nation.

We should remember that the populations of Polisia, northern Pidlyasha, northern Chernihiv, Slobozhanshchyna (Kurshchyna and Voronizh), and even Kuban were never completely deported and Ukrainians still live there — albeit without Ukrainian schools, press, theatres and the basic requisites for a Ukrainian cultural life. Yet in 1959 Soviet Russian statistics removed them from ethnographical and historical maps. And we remain silent, although on earlier maps, even Soviet ones, Ukrainian territories were demarcated on language and dialect maps, (Zhulko), and even appeared in the pre-1960 Soviet Encyclopedia.

Ukrainians abroad know that culture and education are a vital part of our social life. They know that if they do not know themselves, they are powerless to act. If they have no knowledge of Ukraine, they cannot love her and there cannot be a Ukraine.

The view that the cultural front takes second place to the political front predominates, even among nationalists. When considering the future, this should be explained. We cannot refute that our primary aim is and always shall be the national independence of Ukraine. But we must also remember that the struggle for the spiritual and national existence of Ukraine must be fought on the cultural front. The conservation of our national communities in all the countries of settlement and our help to Ukraine is only possible through the preservation of Ukrainian culture. Without self-knowledge, without the preservation and development of Ukrainian culture, we cannot speak of the existence of a politically mature emigration, or a community from which mature political activists can be recruited.

The view that we should leave education and culture to others because our concern lies with politics is extremely harmful. Youth without a sound Ukrainian education and background will be lost to us.

We must oppose those Russian cultural influences which affected us from the so-called cultural exchanges with the USSR, and thus of the Ukr. SSR and the Ukrainian emigre community. These exchanges bring no benefit to the Ukrainian nation, but only to the Russian nation.

We must oppose those who believe in the official culture fostered by the Ukr. SSR and who believe in the evolution of the "Ukrainian Republic" into a state. If there is no spiritual revolution, there can be no political revolution, there can be no decolonisation of the USSR, there can be no free Ukraine. The only solution lies in Ukraine's secession from the USSR. But in the first place the withdrawal must be a spiritual one. There can be no political

separation of Ukraine from Moscow without spiritual and cultural separation.

Any grafting of Soviet Russian culture onto the Ukrainian emigration can only weaken the struggle for the freedom of Ukraine.

A cultural front in the struggle for Ukraine's freedom is essential. Because the nation is one and indivisible, every component of its organism must work as one for the whole. Thus what cultural activists in Ukraine cannot achieve, the cultural activists in the diaspora must strive to achieve. They should be aware of their mission and be as determined to succeed as their counterparts in Ukraine. Only by fulfilling this mission can the emigration help achieve the national independence of Ukraine, and help to preserve our communities.

The Task of Ukrainian Academics in the Free World

The task of the Ukrainian education system is similar to that of each matured nation. The difference between the education systems of free and enslaved nations is that enslaved nations have to concentrate on those aspects of life and branches of education that have a decisive influence on the nation's existence and on its spiritual and national independence. The nation must endeavour both in education and in all aspects of life, to concentrate on major issues, which it must develop and publish, and must place secondary matters in their secondary place.

More than a hundred years ago the Shevchenko Academic Society (NTSh) defined its role as being: "To foster and develop education, particularly in the sphere of Ukrainian studies". The very selection of Taras Shevchenko as the patron by the Society's members clearly indicated their intentions in the field of Ukrainian academics. Let us not forget that at that time, there was a struggle for the recognition of Ukraine as a separate nation with a separate language — independent among Slav languages. Let us also recall that at that time a large section of the nation considered itself to be a part of the Russian nation and considered Ukrainian to be a Russian dialect.

It was precisely the academic system organised by the NTSh, which included all the possible branches of Ukrainian studies, that proved that the Ukrainian nation was indeed a nation with its own history, language, literature and academic system.

In "*Internationalism or Russification?*" Ivan Dzyuba wrote: "During its short years of existence, the Shevchenko Academic Society based in Halychyna, without any material aid and suffering set-backs from the Austrian and then the Polish regimes, was able to print as much literature on Ukrainian studies, Ukrainian history, folklore, statistics, documentation and so on, that all the state publishers of the Ukr. SSR in the different present conditions would no doubt take several centuries to publish. And this is not to mention the high standard and selection of materials produced by the NTSh".

Ivan Dzyuba's affirmation clearly shows that the Ukr. SSR is not a Ukrainian nation, as some — with various political motives — would wish

to affirm, and indeed, the present administrative screen imposed by the Muscovite colonial regime is denser and far more brutal than were the open occupations of the Muscovite and Austrian monarchies.

The present occupier of Ukraine is far harsher than the pre-revolutionary occupier in that now all education and all branches of art are included in the Russian policy of the "mergence of nations", which initially was conducted under the slogan of "internationalism", but which today is conducted under the slogan of "building a Soviet nation", a "Soviet culture" — which in effect means the Russification of all the nations of the USSR and primarily the Slav nations.

The thesis of this policy is expounded in Lenin's article "Party organisation and party literature". It was on the basis of this article and on the directives of the CPSU that so-called "socialist realism" came about — the method through which to achieve the liquidation of the individuality of the cultural styles manifested by the captive nations, their levelling and their preparation, the conditions for the "mergence of nations".

"The greatest achievement of Marxist-Leninist social-scientific thought in our era is the new programme of the CPSU" — affirms the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia* in the section on "Education", p. 548.

To realise the theory of the "mergence of nations" and to create a "single Soviet nation" with a single Soviet culture, everything that obstructs the CPSU must be eliminated. These obstacles are the very characters of the nations, their past, their histories, cultures, everything that differentiates the captive nations from their captors.

The academics of each republic, including the Ukr. SSR were assigned by the CPSU with the help of its subordinates — the Academy of Sciences, professional unions, cultural activists — to prove the common origin of the three East Slavonic nations, the common origin of the tribes that comprised Kyivan-Rus' and to show that they were severed by the Tartar invasions and "united" by the Pereyaslav Agreement, to prove the "progressive" role prove the existence of "class cultures" and the struggle of "progressive" proletarian culture against bourgeois culture, the struggle against the "dying" bourgeois traditions still manifested by the captive nations, the necessity of them levelling with the "highest developed" Russian proletarian culture.

As these and similar statements cannot be proved scientifically — simply because their very premises are false — this attests to the fact that academics in the Ukr. SSR as in the USSR simply serves Marxist dialectics. Marxist dialectics as a method either emphasise facts, falsify them or totally ignore them, depending upon the dictates of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the programme of the CPSU and the great-state interests of the Russian national republic.

These falsifications are particularly evident in the official periodisation of Ukrainian history, literature and art, where the pre-revolutionary history of Ukraine, more than a thousand years old, is given less coverage than the post-revolutionary period of Bolshevik occupation which is only several decades old. Also class differences are especially sought out and emphasised,

while the national solidarity of the Ukrainian nation is deliberately suppressed.

Soviet statistics also have to be included into this category of falsification via Marxist-Leninist dialectics. According to these calculations Ukrainians have almost vanished from the ethnographical lands of Ukraine — lands that are not part of the Ukr. SSR. Until 1960 the Encyclopedia of the USSR indicated that a mixed Ukrainian-Russian population lived in Kuban. However, in the new edition of the encyclopedia that appeared in 1970, this population had seemingly vanished. It also vanished from the administrative borders of the Byelorussian SSR, Beresteshchyna and Pinschyna, from the borders of the Russian Federation and Starodubshchyna. The Ukrainian population has almost stopped existing in the Slobodyanshchyna, Kursk, Bilohradsky and Voronizh regions. Very rarely do statistics of the Ukrainian population show the Ukrainian settlements in Kazakhstan and the Far East, despite the fact that tens of thousands of Ukrainians emigrate there each year and settle, bringing up new generations.

A substantial proportion of Ukrainian academics living in the free world educated on the basis of American-Soviet sources, accept that the territory of the Ukr. SSR is the total territory of Ukraine, and use Soviet statistics, reproduce maps of the Ukr. SSR interchanging this name for Ukraine. The Ukrainian academic Stefan Rudnytsky in his work "The foundations of the geodesy of Ukraine" states that "the government population census was conducted in a manner that is detrimental to Ukrainians". He further states that the minimum size of Ukraine is 905,000 sq. kms and the maximum 1,056,00 sq. kms. Volodymyr Kubyovych calculates that Ukrainian ethnographical territory as being 932,000 sq. kms. This figure is higher than the minimum and lower than the maximum figures given by Rudnytsky and 30% more than the territory of the present Ukr. SSR, which occupies 603,000 sq. kms and thus two thirds of Ukrainian lands proper. Analogically there is a large section of the Ukrainian nation living beyond the boundaries of the Ukr. SSR but living in Ukraine's historical-national territory with its mineral riches, human and economic resources — which remain our neighbours not only according to school book maps but also according to the scholarly works of our emigre academics.

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Leonid RUDNYTZKY

"THE SPIRIT OF GREAT FREEDOM" THOUGHTS ON OLES HONCHAR'S NOVEL *THE CATHEDRAL*

Oles' Honchar's *Sobor* [The Cathedral] is one of the most controversial works of contemporary Soviet Ukrainian literature. Its publication in 1968 was initially received with great enthusiasm by both readers and critics. A subsequent reevaluation of the work by ideological specialists, however, precipitated fierce attacks against the author by several party officials and literary scholars. These attacks culminated in book-burning episodes staged by various komsomol brigades in Kyiv during the Spring of 1968.¹ According to the *New York Times* correspondent Raymond H. Anderson, this initial turnabout in evaluating the novel was a reaction to rising nationalism in Ukraine occasioned by the democratization process which at that time was taking place in Czechoslovakia.² Inasmuch as there is to-date no complete English translation of the work,³ the following brief review and the appended translation will serve to acquaint the reader with the central conflict of the novel and perhaps shed some light on the controversy surrounding it.

On the surface, *Sobor* appears to be a loosely-woven history of Zachiplianka, a fictitious industrial town on the Dniipro river. Its inhabitants are metallurgists, kolkhoz workers, students, pensioners, and party functionaries. The town and the region around it suffer from both water and air pollution, from occasional hooliganism, and from the bureaucratic bungling of its officials. Thus, in this respect, Zachiplianka is probably a typical Soviet Ukrainian industrial city in which the daily rhythm of socialist existence is no different from that in other industrial centres of the Soviet Union. And

¹ See *Der Spiegel*, 35 (August 26, 1968), pp. 24-25. The controversy around Honchar and his novel has spread to the West. In addition to studies written in Ukrainian, there are a number of conflicting opinions published in English. John Kolasky, for example, calls Honchar "one of Ukraine's most talented writers", in his *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification* (Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, 1968), p. 202, while Abraham Rothenberg in his *The Heirs of Stalin: Dissidence and the Soviet Regime, 1953-1970* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1972), refers to him as "an obscure Ukrainian writer" (p. 134). We might add here, that Rothenberg was taken to task for this comment by Wolfgang Leonhard, who pointed out that *Sobor* "has been the center of intellectual discussion in the USSR for years". See *The Russian Review*, 1 (January, 1973), p. 85.

² "Czech Ferment Spreads to the Ukraine", *The New York Times*, July 14, 1968.

³ Marta Olynyk has translated chapters 8 and 9 of the novel. See *The Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, 1 (Fall, 1976), pp. 51-61. A German translation of the work has been done by Elisabeth Kottmeier and Eagar G. Kostetzky: *Oles' Hontschar, Der Dom von Satschijanka* (Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, Hamburg, 1970), 108 pp. and a Polish one: *Sobor* translated by Kazimierz Truchanowski (Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw, 1972).

yet, there is one thing that makes Zachiplianka a special town. High above the city towers an old dilapidated Cossack cathedral, a relic of sorts, an anachronism. The cathedral stands quietly, enveloped by scaffolds, overlooking the entire region. To be sure, the ancient structure has been put to good use by the authorities; it serves as a storage area and a wildlife museum. Most of the inhabitants of the region pay no special attention to the cathedral. They see it every day, they are conscious of its presence, but they attach no special significance to it. Only a young student, Mykola Bahlai, the protagonist of the novel, looks at it with different eyes. To Bahlai's sensitive, artistic soul the cathedral is a cogent symbol of man's free-soaring spirit, a precious link with the past, and the embodiment of man's ability to create beauty. In roaming through Zachiplianka at night, Bahlai "listens to the cathedral, to her silence; he listens to the music of the spheres, which is not accessible to everyone".⁴ The night bestows an idyllic, romantic quality on Zachiplianka and its cathedral, and Mykola Bahlai becomes a part of this almost magic world where the past and the future melt into eternity. But already in the beginning of the novel Bahlai's dreams are rudely shattered. The cathedral had been designated by the Society for the Protection of Historical Landmarks as a historical monument and has thus managed to survive. One night, however, the official protective shield is surreptitiously removed, and the building is thus suddenly bereft of its official status as a landmark. As a result, rumors begin to circulate about its imminent demolition. The removal of the shield and the accompanying rumor disturb the idyllic existence of Zachiplianka's inhabitants. Various individuals suddenly realize that the ancient cathedral has a profound significance in their lives. To the blind World War II veteran, for example, its presence is a continuous reminder of his long lost ability to see beauty; to a veteran party member and professed atheist, who was actively engaged in the struggle against the Church and religion, it symbolizes the nation's link with its cultural heritage and her own connection with her youth. The cathedral means many things to many people, and because of this, the inhabitants of Zachiplianka rally to its defence. Thus a conflict develops between the towns-people (all good communists), and the party bureaucrats, personified primarily by Volodymyr Loboda, a young career-minded party official, who wants to destroy the cathedral and to build a modern useful structure in its place.

This then is the central conflict of the novel, and at first glance the work may appear rather undramatic and perhaps overly romantic and sentimental. The struggle portrayed in the novel, however, is more than just a struggle between workers and bureaucrats. It is the age-old conflict of antagonistic forces inherent in human nature. On the one side, we find man's uncontestable claim to personal freedom, to self-realization, and self-determination; his right to seek his own means to assure the immortality of his spirit. On the other side are institutionalized taboos, government repression, and bureaucratic tyranny. Or,

⁴ Cf. Oles' Honchar, "Sobor", in *Vitchyzna*, 1 (January, 1968), p. 18. All primary references in the text are to this edition.

to put the problem in the framework of *Geistesgeschichte*: it is a conflict between European humanism and socialist humanism. The former is rooted in the Christian tradition and established on the concept of individual freedom; the latter appears to be based on the totalitarian principle of rigid party control and dedicated to the construction of a new society and the eradication of national and cultural distinctions among peoples.

It is at this point that the dimensions of Honchar's *Weltanschauung* become apparent. Perhaps no other Ukrainian poet after Shevchenko is more conscious of man's dependence on the past and his responsibility to the future than Oles' Honchar. The past is alive and vital for him; to an extent it determines man's role in the present. This reference to Shevchenko in connection with Honchar's treatment of the past, need not be fortuitous. There are passages in the novel which appear to be based on Shevchenko's motifs and Honchar's preoccupation with man's freedom can be traced directly to Shevchenko's *Kobzar*.⁵ But contrary to all assertions made by some of his critics, Honchar does not glorify blindly the Cossack past of Ukraine. His is a serious, objective attempt to judge Ukraine's present and past, to distinguish the good from the evil, and to postulate spiritual absolutes.

The past, despite its sins, is redeemed for Honchar. The evil, as he says, has faded away with the smoke of frankincense. What remains is the absolute: the perfect architectural creation, this symphony of plastic art — the cathedral. It is this monument from the past which directs man's thoughts toward the meaning of his existence, toward the future, and ultimately, toward immortality. And thus, Bahlai comes to the conclusion that this monument of the past must be preserved for the generations of the future to provide answers to the basic questions they will pose: "What kind of people were you? What have you built? What have you ruined? What made your spirit move?" (p. 24).

Freedom is the main theme of the novel, and at times it becomes rather complex for it is identified with the Cossack historical past, with art, with love, and with human nature itself. All of these things find their ultimate expression in the meaning of the cathedral for the various individuals in the novel. Thus, the cathedral is not simply a symbol of the past. It is the expression of "the spirit of great freedom with which the Cossack builders endowed the cathedral" (p. 117); it bears witness to the Cossack defiance of Russia, of "the bitch of an Empress who destroyed the Sich fortress" (p. 117). The Cossacks, according to Honchar, had hoped that "our inviolable spirit will live on in this holy structure, our freedom shall shine from the brilliance of its titanic cupolas, the sword may have been torn from our hands, but

⁵ The Soviet critic, Oleh Babyshkiv, in his essay "Damaiu pro velyke, vichne", *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 4 (April, 1968), pp. 45-54, stresses Honchar's affinity to Shevchenko: "When one reads a novel by Honchar written during recent years, one invariably thinks of Shevchenko's words about what man does; whether he builds or ruins things, and how by means of his life he makes his mark in eternity and immortality" (p. 50).

the spirit of freedom and the desire for beauty can never be taken from our heart!" (p. 72). Mykola Bahlai formulates it this way: "It is the spirit of freedom in the cathedral which is so dear to us, this spirit of patriotism which existed before, widely and joyously, and for which we now hunger" (p. 111). Bahlai, in his conversations about the cathedral with Virunka, his sister-in-law, states further: "Art is perhaps the last refuge of freedom" (p. 21).

The theme of freedom is also evident in the story of Yel'ka, the heroine of the novel. She is a simple peasant girl who becomes the victim of her environment, of the prevailing *condition humaine*. The character is well-developed and realistically depicted, and yet, Yel'ka is also a symbolic figure. Her desperate rebellion against all the factors of society which stifle and oppress the individual is rooted in her love for freedom. To Yel'ka "love is the greatest freedom" (p. 147), and this is the bond which links her with Bahlai. Their relationship, therefore, derives from the elective affinities of their freedom-loving spirits. In her suffering, her humiliation, and in her fierce and constant defiance Yel'ka becomes the symbol for Ukraine. Seduced, exploited, and deprived of self-respect, she nonetheless rises above her adversaries and overcomes the temptation to sell out her freedom. In the magnificent garden-party scene, she leaves the opportunistic party official Loboda, with whom she was to be engaged that night, and finds her self-respect again with Mykola Bahlai at the foot of the cathedral. The cathedral, which was the silent witness of her downfall, becomes the instrument of her salvation.

The concept of individual freedom in the novel is also often juxtaposed with that of license, of anarchy. In a historical flashback we see Makhno, the father of anarchy come face-to-face with Professor Yavornyts'kyi,⁶ the custodian of the cathedral. In this confrontation, the raw force of anarchy bows to the true spirit of freedom and tradition. Similarly, the Soviet hooligans, the modern Makhnos, who desecrate the cathedral, as well as the bureaucrats, who are bent on destroying it, are exposed as moral pygmies, as people who have failed to understand the meaning of life.

Honchar's attempts to withstand the pressures of our false epoch and to endow life with a measure of authenticity, makes his novel highly relevant to our times. In his famous essay, "A Cathedral in Scaffolding", the Soviet critic, Evhen Sverstiuk, makes this point most eloquently and by doing so, demonstrates the universal applicability of Honchar's work to life in the twentieth century:

"An atmosphere devoid of spiritual and creative intensity cannot sustain

⁶) Just as Makhno, Yavornyts'kyi is a historical figure. For a survey on his life and works, see Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography", *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, V-VI (1957), pp. 242-244 and passim. In a letter dated February 3, 1910, and written in Helouan, Egypt, Lesya Ukrainka provides a very interesting, brief description of Yavornyts'kyi's activities in that part of the world. See Lesya Ukrainka, *Tvory w desiaty tomakh*, Kiev, 1965, X, 288.

man on the human level. In this atmosphere it is even difficult to delineate the boundary between poaching and the higher, indestructible values. How can the latter be preserved in the world if consumption and utility become accepted norms? It would be possible for orders to be given that cathedrals, as historico-cultural monuments, should not be destroyed. But the point in question is not the monument itself, but we ourselves — the atmosphere that cultivates a spirit of creativeness and conservation. Above all, atmosphere determines the style of life, the creative spirit of our contemporary ideals, criteria, and motives as they are expressed in relation to people and to the great, eternal issues. It determines whether contemporary man wants to broaden his horizon in order to examine world problems or whether he will try stupidly to narrow everything down to his own horizon".⁷

In addition to being the central symbol, the cathedral by its omnipresence supports the complex multifaceted structure of the novel and endows it with a magnificent sense of unity. It also provides an element of historical continuity to the novel, which is reinforced by the etymological depth found in the names of people and places. As prime examples here, one can cite the names Bahlai and Zachiplianka, whose etymologies are highly revealing for the symbolic content of the novel.⁸ All of these add depth and a certain baroque fullness to the work.⁹ Hand-in-hand with this baroque fullness, we find a correspondingly rich poetic text made up primarily of Christian symbols. Terms like *the last supper*, *saint*, *madonna*, *immortality*, *holiness*, *soul*, *30 silver pieces*, *sin*, *hell* abound in the novel giving it a pronounced Christian ethos, which finds its most cogent expression in the statement made by Professor Yavornyts'kyi, i.e., that truth is to be found in the cross on top of the cathedral (p. 118).¹⁰

Honchar's novel is not only a tale of a town and its people. It is the story of a nation, its accomplishments and its failures. It glorifies man's freedom in the light of a Christian humanism and damns those individuals and institutions who are bent on destroying it. It is an intensely moral tale in

⁷) See his *Clandestine Essays*, translated and edited by George S. N. Luckyj, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, pp. 53-54.

⁸) J. B. Rudnyc'kyj establishes the connection between the word *bahlai* and the expressions *baidaky byty* and *baydakuvaty* (to be lazy, to fool around), which clearly delineates the personality of the protagonist. For complete etymology of the word, see his *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences — UVAN, Winnipeg, 1962-1972), p. 48. The name Zachiplianka (in English, roughly Get-stuck-ville) is explained by Honchar himself at the very beginning of the novel.

⁹) In this connection it should be pointed out that Orest Zilins'kyi in his otherwise excellent study of the novel erred when he stated: "The work lacks epic simplicity; it is overloaded with incidentals; it displays baroque verbosity tinselled on some of its parts like the trimmings of a Christmas tree". See "*Sobor Olesia Honchara*", *Duklia 3* (Presov, Czechoslovakia, 1968), p. 225.

¹⁰) The eminent Ukrainian émigré critic, Ivan Koshelivets', in his article "Pro *Sobor Olesia Honchara*", *Suchasnist*, 8 (August, 1968), claims that Honchar made several compromises; that in order to get the work published, he carefully avoided "conflicting situations, nipping them in the bud, so to speak", and thus consciously weakening his novel.

this respect. Its style is highly lyrical, reminiscent at times of Rilke and of Pasternak. Especially with the latter Honchar seems to have much in common, yet his characters are more real, more earthy than those in *Dr. Zhivago*. Honchar, after all, is steeped in Soviet modernity, and the novel reveals some of the most burning problems of contemporary Soviet life: among them are the generation conflict, the alienation of young Soviet citizens from society, the problems facing the senior citizens, juvenile delinquency and the existence of hooliganism, racial discrimination, and pollution of the environment. It also contains a highly revealing chapter on Soviet foreign aid to India and Egypt, a glimpse of *la dolce vita* Soviet style, and provides many interesting insights into Soviet life in general.

Yet all these things are seen *sub species aeternitatis*; they are seen from the perspective of the cathedral. The cathedral with all its symbolic significance dominates the work. It is the axis around which everything revolves, in time, in space, and in the realm of the human spirit.¹¹

Honchar's novel, by its treatment of freedom and its symbolic dimension, transcends limited regional or national confines and becomes a universal work of art. The author reaches back to the granite intractability of the Ukrainian Cossack past and derives from it absolutes relevant for modernity. Mighty structures, conceived by man's free-soaring spirit, such as the cathedral of Zachiplianka or its counterpart, the Taj Mahal, as found in Honchar's novel in the chapter on India, generate love of beauty, of art, of freedom; they generate, as he puts it, a spirit of brotherhood, "the spirit that unites mankind".

Oles' HONCHAR

THE CATEDRAL

Chapter 1

In no encyclopedia in the world will you find Zachiplianka. And yet here it is, it exists in reality. It even sounds somewhat funny if you're not used to it. Zachiplianka — Get-stuck-ville. Once somebody got stuck here on something. And that's how it all started. In the olden pre-factory days there was on this spot, so they say, a large village, where spears were made for the Cossacks. And when the Cossacks journeyed to Sich, they used to stop here

¹¹) The novel invites a comparison with Ivo Andric's *The Bridge on the Drina*. In both works, mighty structures dominate the narrative and provide it with a sense of unity and symbolic significance. A comparative study of the two works would be most fruitful.

to replenish their supply of spears. It was, perhaps, at such a time that some Cossack got stuck here on a girl, having thus laid the beginnings of a dynasty.

People living in Zachiplianka are for the most part righteous people, or as the student Mykola would put it, the right people: hard workers, metallurgists. They are people whose lives are split into shifts, day and night shifts. At one end of the village a pond glistens, at the other, a dilapidated cathedral shimmers white on the square — an ancient Cossack cathedral. Before the windows of the village houses, behind the cherry orchards, beyond the Dnipro, the blast furnaces are ablaze night after night with their volcanic redness. There metal is born. The sky trembles and deepens every time the metallurgical works, spilling out their glow, explode from the steep bank in a lava stream of incandescent cinders.

Brown skies hang over the town in brown smoke.

At midnight, when the night shift whirs by on bicycles toward the works, Zachiplianka, tired of its daily tasks, finally falls into sleep, and above it in the expanses of the sky hangs a greenhorned moon; the cathedral hovers in deep thought over the village, alone in the silence, in the bright acacia night, which doesn't even resemble a night anymore but, so to speak, some kind of anti-night. It is very unusual here, this anti-night; it is as if it were under a magic spell, conjured up by the spectre of the cathedral. It listens to the silent music of the cathedral's round, harmoniously united cupolas, its mounting stories, its singing lines. For the night, possessed by the desire to solve some ancient riddles, to decipher secret writings of ages past, the cathedral is still filled with distant music; it thunders in the avalanche of liturgies, resounds with Orthodox masses and chants; it whispers with desire for atonement; it is still filled with sins, which were repented here, and of confessions, and tears, and the ecstasy of human passions, and hopes . . .

The factories produce metal casts. Redness bursts into the sky, whose depth, having caught life, begins to breathe, to pulsate; at night reflections of the sky dance on the walls of the cathedral, on its upper spheres.

If at such a time Mykola Bahlai, a student, returns from the Metallurgical Institute, then, out of habit, he stops at the square, tilts his head back and according to his custom, listens to the cathedral, to her silence; he listens to the "music of spheres", which is not accessible to everyone. A stork in the nest on the scaffolds erected around one of the side cupolas clangs having sensed the presence of a human being. It stirs and becomes uneasy, aroused perhaps also by the bursts of redness from the sky and anxious that its young ones might fall out of the nest. In the outline of the cupolas the stork elevates himself in the nest, and, balanced on one leg, paints a graceful silhouette in the darkness.

And the bird stands there looking down from the cathedral heights onto its favorite pond which, alive with frogs, glistens in the moonlight. He surveys

the silvery tents formed by the acacia trees, which wrap Zachiplianka up with their rich, honeyed scent. Everything around here is a part of Mykola Bahlai — the spirit of his forefathers dwells in this place. The ages speak to him in the midnight. There are no engine noises now to disturb the orchards, and there is no water splashing from the hoses . . . Zachiplianka is there, cradled in the moonlight, where the red splashes in the sky and the calm glow of the cathedral watch over its quiet streets. And the night makes the cathedral seem even more majestic than it is in the daytime. And the student Mykola never tires looking at it. The cathedral is one of those millennial titans that are strewn about the planet, which stand there sometimes like grim citadels, with gaping apertures, at times they seem to scrape the sky with their steeples, and at other times they recast the outlines of the sky in the spacious convexities of their cupolas . . . In the sea of human generations, in the flow of the ages these titans stand tall, immovable; vested in symbol and allegory, adorned with the stony figments of life, they have the passions of the ages carved into them. And when those who are distant from us, those of the future, emerge from the depth of the universe and approach our planet, the first thing they will marvel at will be cathedrals. And they, those of the stars, also will begin to search for the secret laws of proportion, the ideal harmony of thought and matter: they too will seek the formulas of eternal beauty, which have never been divined . . .

That is how it is going to be: our student is certain of that.

There is no wind today and one cannot smell the smoke of the factories. Today on Vesela Street in Zachiplianka one can't help but smell the scent of acacian honey. The fences along the street are laced with honeysuckle and a soft carpet of pollen covers the street; and our student's torn sneakers lightly resound on it. And although this young man has never flown, he walks on the carpet of Zachiplianka like a cosmonaut . . . For him, for the younger Bahlai, the epicentre of life is here. Here the surrounding world speaks more audibly than anywhere else — it speaks in nightly silence, through its wondrously entangled plant growth, across the moon-drenched walls. The baroque fullness of Zachiplianka's acacia groves and its abundant grape leaves overpower one in the night. Here in the night everything has changed, taken on added dimensions, and entangled itself in everything else; and in all of this, in the unity of all things harmony is achieved. Isn't this the true sense of life — to drink in the beauty of these nights, to live in harmony with nature, to delight in work and in the poetry of human association, to learn the value of these things, and to know that they must be preserved . . . Vesela Street rests now having toiled and buzzed all day; it has dispersed its throngs of troubles. It sleeps soundly, intoxicated by the acacia trees, which lean into the open windows with their rich, silvery blossoms. Neither the verandas, fences, nor sheds are visible; the night entwines everything in its acacia phantasy in its mirage of shadows. Silence, sleep, and blossoms fill the air. There is something magical about this nightly

fluorescence, about the moon-lit mirage and the silence of these bright acacia nights. Everything rests, only the sky breathes deeply. The cathedral looms tall above the villages pervading the dreams and vision of Zachiplianka.

Mykola Bahlai, dressed in his sport coat, strolls along with an air of dignity, humming to himself as he walks. His humming carries even to the Klyndyk section of the village, it echoes in the Gypsy quarter and in the Colonial area. Our student feels like shouting from the top of his lungs, but his conscience will not let him; after all, people are asleep and so he continues to hum something in a low voice which is as unintelligible to Zachiplianka as integral calculus.

In addition to the younger Bahlai there is also the older Bahlai, who because of his temperament and his irascible character used to be known in the village as Ivan the Wild, more recently, however, as the Red-head in India, or simply as Virun'ka's Bahlai. Virun'ka and Ivan are perfectly matched — two souls living in harmony. In front of their home stands, as a symbol of idyllic marital accord, under the overhanging acacia blossoms, a little bench, which is neat and comfortable. This bench, it can be said, has a history. Ivan built it shortly after their marriage with his own hands in order to be able to step out of the house at night and to sit with his young wife by the light of the quiet stars. Ivan, somehow or other chose the right place; the spot where he built the bench must have been the place where his ancestors long ago once sat on logs. As soon as dusk sets in people gather around this bench; young people from all ends of the street flock to it as if a treasure were buried here. All night they fool around under the windows of the house and strum their guitars. When Ivan was at home he often chased them; he would rush from the house, clad only in his shorts, his ribs showing, his hair dishevelled, wide-eyed, and furious.

"Beat it, get away from here, you bagpiping barracudas! I'm sick of your strumming! They won't even let you rest after a day's work!"

He chased the strummers today, but tomorrow they will be at it again, strumming, guffawing, as if just to test Ivan's temper, trying to see if he is so "wild". And the smallest noise arouses Ivan and makes him explode like gunpowder.

But right now the bench is empty. Is it perhaps because its owner is not at home, and there is nobody there to dash out of the house and chase the crowd? The bench looks very inviting, saying as it were: "Sit down, young man, relax after a day of righteous toil". One can even lie down on the bench face up and continue to hum here to the stars.

Just as our student made himself comfortable on the bench and felt himself steeped in the night's tranquility. Virun'ka appeared in the open window. With her full face and broad shoulders she leaned over the window sill, her white bosom glowing brightly in the moonlight.

The idiosyncracies of our student are well known to Virun'ka. Only he, only Mykola, has the habit of lying face-up on a strange bench this time

of night to entertain the stars although he is but two steps away from his own home.

"I see you're very comfortable", Virun'ka's voice came from the window, "and you sing very nicely, yet if you were quiet, it would be even nicer... you're going to wake the children".

"I am quiet. If singing is forbidden, what about thinking?"

"Got some girl on your mind?"

"No, my thoughts are of a different nature".

"What kind, tell me, if it isn't a secret".

"I am trying to decide, Virun'ka, deliberating, whether I shouldn't sign up for the 'Committee on Class Struggle'."

"That's something new".

"On the bulletin board next to the dean's office they've posted a notice: 'Sign up for the Committee on Class Struggle'... meaning, of course, classical..."

Virun'ka laughs quietly. The white apples of her cheeks glisten and her shoulders glow white, bathed in the milky light of the moon, and it seems that a scent of milk emanates from her. It's a long time since she was a milkmaid, but even now she seems to smell of milk, just like when Ivan brought her for the first time to Vesela Street. He took her around, showed her everything, and praising everything he continually exclaimed: "In our street nobody writes anonymous denunciations". She falls in love, blossoms into happy married life, a material idyll, although her job is not easy. Shift after shift she spends sitting in the cabin of her crane in the middle of the rumbling steel plant. There they call her an ace machinist. On the job her face is always hidden by a respiratory mask which she keeps on in order not to get poisoned by the biting dust of the cinder-agglomerates. Like a queen Virun'ka sits all the way up there in the subcelestial spheres of the plant. There she touches the iron mane of the giant crane with her fingers, and obedient even to her gentlest touch, it moves wherever she directs it. With a mighty roar it seizes tons of rusty scrap iron and carries them with an even greater roar through the air into the moulds. In constant drafts, in biting dust, amid the screeching iron — such is her life in the black cabin which flies back and forth over the inferno of the factory yard... And here a white cabin, her house, floats in the scent of the acacia trees, and a chirping grasshopper somewhere in the weeds weaves and weaves its nightly poem for the top crane operator.

Virun'ka, what does the cathedral say to you?

"That dilapidated thing? I've never heard it say anything".

"Listen then, not so much with your ears as with your soul..."

"My soul has other things to listen to. I saw Ivan once again in my dream... I dreamt the bottom of the scoop burned out. Just as they lifted it the bottom went plop, metal poured all over the factory grounds; at once my crane started to burn; there was iron burning all over, and Ivan just stood there and didn't move from the spot! I screamed at him to run, but

my words didn't reach him; it was as if my throat were choked with dolomites and magnesite . . . 'Ivan you'll burn to death', I screamed, 'save yourself'. And then I woke up . . . What's the meaning of this dream?"

"Ivan will come back a fakir, a yogi. He will walk barefoot on fiery iron".

"Oh, why did I let him go? Never again will I let him go alone. Even if they should send him to the end of the world, I shall go with him . . . Otherwise life is just going to pass us by".

The sorrow of parting is in her voice, and the yearning of waiting. Her whole world centers around Ivan. She made a cult of Ivan, and no one could ever dethrone him in her heart. Other couples quarrel and fight, run around to committees and courts of law, but with Ivan and Virun'ka there is harmony, good will, and love. Their children are already old enough for school, but she still dresses up for her Ivan like a young girl. She regularly runs over to the factory grounds whenever he is on duty there. They say it is jealousy that makes her go there to spy on him, but she does not consider herself jealous. It is not jealousy, but pride which motivates her to go to the park whenever he is on patrol there. Her heart flutters wherever she sees how Ivan, with a red band on his arm, stern and menacing, leads his factory patrol. The feeling of intoxication immediately leaves the drunks when they see Ivan Bahlai; all kinds of scum scramble into the bushes. Today the "Martin" section of the plant is on duty, and Ivan is patrolling with his assistants. Although they call him "the dirty red-head", his heart is golden, tender, and just, and because of that she fell in love with him. Sometimes at night she suddenly wakes up and imagines that a taxi has pulled up in front of their house. She sees its lights and knows: "he's come!" But it is nothing; they are only casting the iron. For others he is the wild red-head, but Virun'ka simply can not help but be proud of him whenever they talk about him at the plant: he is a master of steel production, a virtuoso in his profession . . . And there are never any cracks in his soul: he is the same in life as at work — wild and furious, and from this rage comes his know-how, his talent for steel production. "I just walk up to the furnace", he says, "and in my heart I know immediately how things are". For Virun'ka he is the best of all, a wizard of the furnace, and it was no surprise to her that they took him when they were selecting people to go to India. Although one now frequently hears in the villages: "this one is in Aswan", "that one in Afganistan", to Virun'ka, nevertheless, it seems, that only her Ivan had the singular privilege of representing the Ukrainian metallurgists somewhere in Bhilai.

"Is my brother going to be surprised; he will return and the cathedral will be no more".

"What do you mean, no more?" Virun'ka almost jumped at him.

"They're thinking of taking it down".

"That's the first time I heard of it. Well, it's all the same to me, but to do it without consulting the people . . . It must be just a rumor".

"It's no rumor. If it is in the way of somebody's career . . . If by its

demolition one can distinguish oneself, climb a rung higher on the ladder . . .”

“You make so much fuss over that cathedral of yours like a child over a new toy . . . Tell me, instead, when are you going to get your mother a daughter-in-law? You are keeping some girl on pins and needles right now, aren’t you?”

“No, Virun’ka, I’m not, not yet”.

“Is it so difficult to find the right one?”

To cheer Virun’ka up, Mykola told her how they went to a dance on the island Saturday, to dance the very same twist that Virun’ka disapproves of. At the end of the dance, a degenerate, bowlegged character called their party aside and propositioned them in a low voice: “You want girls? I can fix you up . . .”

“What scum”, Mykola was indignant, “we felt like squashing that bum’s face, but decided not to dirty our hands”.

“You should have brought him to staff headquarters”, Virun’ka remarked sternly, “for people like that we always keep a good broom ready”.

Every once in a while Virun’ka too can be seen in the park on a workers’ patrol. She joined the patrol, after saying goodbye to Ivan, the dread of all park hooligans, when he left for Bhilai. Mykola really made fun of this; at home the garden is not weeded, the children are hanging around their grandmother’s neck, and yet, there she is, upholding Ivan’s prestige, fighting those who violate social order.

“Tell me, Virun’ka, do all patrols snap to attention before you?”

“Go ahead and laugh, laugh all you want, but somebody has to go on patrol. After all, you just walk along, and before you know it, a young punk, who just converted his yap into liquid form, begins to accost people. He must have just touched the stuff — a sparrow’s drink — he doesn’t need much after work . . . and then he rolls about in the bushes, pale and dead — isn’t that something to make your soul ache? But I for one, am not the one to mother him. Only yesterday one of the young workmen came over to the dance square and began to bother the girls. Hanna the mechanic and myself just happened to be there. ‘Okay, my little pidgeon, come along’. She grabbed him by one ear and I by the other, and off we went to headquarters. He was still prancing about when we got there and complaining: ‘This old bag’ he says, ‘pulled my ear so hard, look how swollen it is . . . , put that in the record!’”

“Really? Virun’ka, don’t tell me you have the right to pull a free citizen by his ear?”

“And does he have the right to be a hooligan? A fine protector you turned out to be. And why haven’t you yourself joined a patrol? An athlete like you, with your build . . . what are you developing those muscles for?”

“To be a sports enthusiast and to pick up drunks in the park are two different things, Virun’ka”.

“And who is going to pick them up? Does it always have to be us women? And what do you do, you samba dancers?”

"I am not an expert at judo. Maybe I'm sick of these things. Maybe I'm allergic. The only thing which is still of value in this time of doubt and uncertainty is the ancient cult of a healthy body. On to the boats and down the Dnipro — that makes sense, that's to my liking. After all, what else is left for a human being on this sinful earth, besides the smile of the sky the warmth of the sun?"

"The smile of the sky — that's beautiful, you're a poet, after all . . ."

"The winds have bruised and blown away the golden bergamots of my days, did you ever hear that one?"

"Is it yours?"

"No, that's a song by the blind veteran Kostia, his words and his music . . ."

"They don't write anonymous denunciations, but yet somebody dropped a word about him, about Kostia to the district Soviet. They alleged that he surreptitiously supplied Zachiplianka with alcoholic beverages of the home — made variety . . . Boy, did I have a lot of trouble because of him . . . 'Aren't you ashamed', I used to tell them, 'suspecting a blind man? And even if he did distill some little thing for a holiday or such, he now does honest work for the ARTEL [The Association to Promote Work by Invalids] . . . he makes baskets, and that's how he lives'."

"Man does not live by baskets alone, Virun'ka. 'The golden bergamots of my days' — that adds flavor to life". Mykola vigorously ran his hands through his hair. "In our time art attracts the noblest people. Art, Virun'ka, is possibly the last refuge of freedom . . ."

"Ah, you're all sceptics", Virun'ka retorted with Ivan's favourite statement, which she frequently used, regardless of whether it fit or not. "You waste a lot of time philosophizing, Mykola . . . just look, what a beautiful night. Girls go crazy on nights like these. There is probably one pining away for you some place, and here you are wagging your tongue . . . When Ivan and I met, then — believe it or not — it was as if something came over us, my whole life lit up. Everyone became more beautiful, even the farm I worked on . . . I tend the cows, and I don't even see the troughs. I constantly look toward the highway expecting the bosses and with them the curly red-head with that wild look in his eyes".

Virun'ka really must have missed Ivan to talk about such things to Mykola which revealed her most intimate thoughts. Intoxicated with her memories she smiles resting on the window sill; she smiles somehow hungrily thinking about her sins, her lovemaking . . .

The orchards stand there silently, and Mykola every once in a while can hear the geese cackling all the way over in Yahor Katraty's yard. Yahor has probably just returned from the Dnipro and frightened his charges. Ever since the factory people pensioned Yahor, ever since they accompanied by a band brought him, the veteran furnace-man, all the way to Vesela Street, the old man wanted a new job — he could not simply fold his hands and sit there. At first he did hack work, installing steam heaters and covering houses with slate although slate was difficult to get. His own house, an old

fashioned one, was, in fact, the only one in the village that still had a straw roof. He kept this up until he finally got the job he wanted; he became a buoykeeper on the Dnipro. In time the old man acquired fishing tackle and made acquaintances among the fish inspectors who frequently came all the way from the city for a taste of his famous fish broth.

Just recently a mysterious stranger appeared in the old man's garden. And it was not difficult for Virun'ka with her female intuition to guess why Mykola kept glancing in that direction.

"Did you notice what a fine niece Yahor has, the one that waters his garden? She's a real beauty. But you young people are asleep. If you would only invite the girl to a dance, you wretched sceptics . . ."

For the sceptics, of course, the appearance behind Yahor's fence of this mysterious stranger by the name of Yel'ka did not go unobserved. Nonetheless, no one had yet succeeded in getting acquainted with her. Many a time the more curious of the boys would zoom past the yard on their bicycles apply their brakes and stretch their necks, but no one was able to lure her out into the open. A smile never crosses her swarthy face. She is very stern, unapproachable; only once in a while does she glance furtively over the fence to frown at the cyclists, and then once again she looks down at the ground, at the hose pulsating with water, which she picks up angrily, as if she were ready to squirt somebody between the eyes. Most frequently they see her with her back turned toward the street, and Mykola many times noticed her slender figure and strong legs, tanned like copper and covered with dew all the way up to her knees. And so she stands there in the midst of the old man's strawberries, which as a result of her generous watering will probably grow to be as large as pumpkins. Who is she, this stranger who violates Zachiplianka's peace, who disturbs the nightly tranquility of young men?

Mykola knows nothing about her, and no one can get anything out of the old man; he is silent as a rock. One thing, however, Mykola does know: she comes from where the steppes are, where thistles grow in the ravines, where human faces are parched by the burning Samartian winds.

"Perhaps she too is a poet", Virun'ka muses "because whenever she goes to the shop to buy bread she shies away from people as if there were something wrong with her . . . And only when the street is empty will she come out of the house . . . She runs darting by always looking over her shoulder as if someone were chasing her".

Mykola got off the bench and stretched:

"Good night, Virun'ka", he said thoughtfully, "I salute the classical spirit of your waiting. I salute in you Yaroslavna, who waited like you in sorrow on the ramparts".

"Oh, you're always joking".

"No, I'm serious. In my opinion women surpass men in the intensity of their feeling and in its beauty . . . Whenever I see a woman in love, in the holy state of waiting, I want to bow before her!"

And he really did bow before her. And it seemed to Virun'ka that he really meant it.

That night something caused Bahlai to roam around in Zachiplianka like a sleep-walker. He went and drank some water. Then his silhouette could be seen near Yahor's fence where the geese which looked like piles of snow in the woodshed, cackled at him furiously. Later he stood by the pond — this dear old pond, where it seems that it was only yesterday that in his sun-tanned youth, he splashed about, yelling, screaming, building lairs, and playing skittle. And even now, although he is a student of metallurgy, he still likes to splash around in the pond and frighten the carps in the marshes. And everywhere he goes are his assistants, all these little Bahlais, Tkaches, and Shpaks, this entire dirty guard of Zachiplianka, which is so completely devoted to him . . . Finally he wound up by the cemetery, on the other side of Yahor's garden, among the mounds covered with weeds, above which long ago, so they say, the phosphorescent silhouettes of their ancestors used to appear in the darkness of night. Now they don't appear anymore, but long ago they supposedly did, and they scared people. Who were they, those who came out at night? Cossacks with spears? The first metallurgist? And why did they rise from their graves? Was the earth too confining for them? Or were they driven forth by the desire to know what had happened to their descendants in the real world? There were wizards among them, so it is said, sorcerers, marvelous people. They were the kind who could take a handful of native soil, put it under their cap and take off to the battle. And this bit of earth gave an old warrior such magical powers that whenever he met an enemy eye to eye the enemy could not see him. The Saracen would hear the Cossack laugh, he would hear his horse neigh, but the Cossack himself was not to be seen. He was as invisible as a ghost, but full of laughter.

The cemetery has been neglected; only at Easter time do a few old women come here to pray for the dead . . . For them, those who are buried in the earth are not ashes, not decomposed matter; the cemetery is for them like some kind of a subterrestrial hospital for the living, for those who feel . . . Dynasties of metallurgists lie buried here, the ones who supplied spears and muskets to Sich. And even today one finds things around here. Only recently they dug up a flint laddle in Kinbas' garden, and everybody wondered what it was and what it was used for, until finally someone remembered: it is a laddle for pouring out metal! And so we know, there must have been Cossack foundries here.

The Bahlais were of the same stock Mykola, following the footsteps of his older brother, had gone as a teenager to the factory, and there for the first time he peered through the blue of the work glasses, through the peep-hole in his brother's furnace, at the swirling fire, which was like the very core of the sun. Once you see it, you'll never again forget it, no matter where you are . . . And when your shift is done and you leave through the factory gate, the first thing that appears before you is the black Titan of Labour with the

broken chains on his hands which were cast in the first metal of the revolution. Your father also helped to cast it, and every time you look at it something touches upon your soul . . .

And then you hop on your bicycle and cycle home down Shyroka Street. You lean forward over the handle bar, you press down on the pedals and zoom along the paved street, while your shopping net with a piece of bread in it swings in the breeze. At the end of the street the sun slowly rolls into the dust like a red melon. A truck speeds ahead of you filled with pallid-faced factory madonnas. They sit under wraps in their working clothes, tired after work, unresponsive. They glance down at you apathetically. Then one of them apparently notices something funny about you, and calls you a dumb bunny from the factory, and they all begin to giggle, and you grin back at them. After all, what do you have to lose? At the cathedral you cross the square into Vesela Street, for which you were preordained, and have reached your destination. From the gates of the factory covered with soot, to the threshold of your mother's home — this is where the path of all your youth leads.

Other young people from Zachiplianka are being sent to vocational and factory trade schools, even those whose beards have not yet grown are sent, and you, an advanced student, now stand before the enduring specter of the cathedral at night. Under its shadows the lives of many generations have passed. They lived and died, and now you appear here. And after you are gone, others will come and will live in Zachiplianka; they will be people of another stamp with other professions, experts in cybernetics or something, astronauts . . . What will you mean to them? How will they remember you? It is said that the fear of death is primary in human life. The fear of the unknown, of dark extinction supposedly governs everything . . . but is it really that way? Should not he who lives be more afraid that his existence may be without meaning, that he may tread the road of life like a human shopping net and shed the blossom of his spring like a barren flower? What after all is "the final summation of all earthly wisdom?" How can one be authentic? How can one attain perfection? How should you conduct yourself so that in the judgment of the universe you might be viewed as the crowning achievement of nature? Here before you is a masterpiece of art, a poem of Cossack steppe architecture. There are singular rhythms in the structure of the cathedral, there is free soaring inspiration, there is great love . . . How can your soul merit immortality, and where are they, those poems of yours? On nights like these girls go crazy with love, so Virun'ka says. And where is that special one in your life for whom you would go mad? They tell you that love began at a late stage in man's development, and that it eventually became a sales commodity. Well, what lies ahead? Love will develop, to be sure, along the lines of the beautiful and not the bestial . . . Pure and holy — this feeling will forever be the great song of life and art . . . But where is she, this song of yours that has not yet been sung?

The cathedral is silent. In its presence Bahlai always feels a strange sadness

and even some anxiety. It is as if the cathedral had something primordial about it; it suggests primitive greatness, like the steppes, the Dnipro, or the black industrial bastions of the factories woven in eternal smoke. The cathedral's silent music — the music of her cupolas — which rise harmoniously against the sky, really does exist. You can hear it although others, it seems, cannot. Zachiplianka is not spiteful, and yet it seems it cannot forget what this cathedral once stood for — this greatest and most magnificent edifice of the entire diocese. Many minds were made numb here the fumes of vigil candles, by the deceitful sermons, and by the narcotic scent of frankincense which emanated from the priests' swinging censers. Potbellied priests grew even fatter here, and the church ushers with bowl haircuts and their heads oiled, who jingled mountains of copper coins on collection plates, pilfered and made fortunes selling candles on the side. With a single stroke, swindling contractors were able to buy here the remission of their sins, while beggars, men and women alike, died in the porticoes. And the unfortunate cripples, who dragged themselves here from every where to be healed, hoping to experience a miracle, remained as they were — crippled, deprived of any miracles . . . Candles burned, icons adorned by embroideries shone and the choir, overflowing with heavenly voices, practically burst the cathedral, singing to the people of eternal bliss, only after the service to cast them forth from the heavens into the real, cruel world with all its bestiality, extortion, and want; into the world of Belgian factory owners and sullen-faced "native" supervisors; into the world of pay days and strikes, and drinking bouts and bloody fights . . . But all that has passed, faded away with the smoke of the frankincense. And there remained for Mykola only this perfect architectural creation, this symphony of plastic art. Will they really dissemble it? Virun'ka reassured him — after all there is no reason to do it . . . but as soon as it annoys someone, as soon as it stands in somebody's way, they will find a reason to . . . alas, it is going to be hard for it to survive . . . And our descendants will come and they will ask of us: well now, what kind of people were you? What have you built? What have you ruined? What made your spirit move?

Today for some reason Yel'ka was mad at everybody.

The cathedral hovered in the evening clouds. Something melancholic, even disturbing, emanated from it. Who built it? By what miracle did it survive? What kind of a soul did somebody put into it, so that ages later it could touch Yel'ka?

It became completely dark and it began to drizzle. Yel'ka pulled under the tarpaulin. She folded it into a kind of tent, and wrapped herself up in order to get warm faster.

The team boss and the driver of the truck returned late; they brought herring wrapped in a newspaper, a bottle, and a loaf of black bread.

"Here is our fodder", the team boss said boisterously and invited Yel'ka: "Well, little hostess, over this way, we'll get warm in a jiffy . . . here, hold the bread, hold the dishes!"

Well, they hadn't forgotten her after all. They warmed themselves in the darkness, broke bread into little pieces with their hands, tore the herring into shreds, poured the drink into cut glasses — it was supposed to be some kind of rum — they managed to distribute it equally despite the darkness. They persuaded Yelka to have a drink too. She swallowed a few times — it burned like fire. Afterwards it dawned on her, that this treat was not accidental but had been planned by them beforehand, and about herself she thought, that her staying there under the tarpaulin was also not accidental . . . it was as if something had made her stay, although she had no particular intentions at all; she had no designs and yet, all the time she had a foreboding of how it would happen.

And that's how it happened: the driver somehow disappeared, the team boss, crouching, smoked alongside the truck. The cathedral projected from the darkness of the sky somewhat frightening. It was perhaps already past midnight, the wind danced freely, rattling a piece of torn-off-plate somewhere in the upper spheres of the cathedral. After a while the team boss also got into the truck and wound up in the shelter of the tarpaulin.

"Do you hear that bad wind! . . . You can't let me freeze out there . . ."

And having set her mind at ease, he said drawing near: "Don't be afraid I won't touch you".

And although she should have chased him away immediately, somehow she did not. And even when she heard his caressing words, she did not cut him short; she wanted to listen to them, there was something which implored trust when he lamented his fate. Sincerity seemed evident in his sympathy for Yel'ka, who was now without a mother, alone . . . His nearness and his confidence were at this time not indifferent to her. He evidently sensed Yel'ka's mood and crept even closer; she felt the intense warmth of his body. Passionate whispers of supplication excited her. Caresses never known before awakened her sensuality. The wind pucked at their shelter, the tarpaulin fluttered, and she heard his passionate and fervent whispering:

"Yel'ka, we only live once! Nobody ever lived twice!"

He said there are so many old maids in the village, nobody ever looks at them. The boys have flown the coop and the girls are so numerous in the villages that one could build a dam with them. She also heard about the mines, where they would elope, about the happiness which one has to seize.

And again:

"Once! Nobody ever lived twice! Don't be proud! Don't be afraid! You are on your own now! . . . Free! Nobody is your guardian!"

And thus she felt that she was free to do as she wanted. Maybe one really had to reach out and grasp for one's happiness? Others were willing to throw themselves all over him, but she had gained such power over him, driving him senseless. Burning with excitement, she resisting, and when she felt the strong taste of his kiss, it seemed to her that here it was, that this intoxication was really love . . .

The night burned with darkness. And this was the darkest of all nights,

this night of her fall. It was not a moment of bliss in Yel'ka's life. It brought neither joy, nor delight — nothing but pain.

In the morning the sky was empty, drab clouds floated above the cathedral, and the wind subsided; in the east a little piece of the sky glowed coldly, like blood. The doors of the cathedral were open. They began to give out the fodder. The girls shouted to one another in the cathedral. Yelka also had to be there, but for some reason they did not call her, did not bother her. And she did not hurry to come out from under the tarpaulin. A dark-gray, dirty pigeon which sat on a cornice of the cathedral, preened and preened himself. The birds chirped in the bare trees. The branches of the trees shone wet, dampened by the spring air. Life went on; it went its course, but this boisterousness of the morning, the awakening of spring, the bright strip of dawn, the chirping of birds, and the cheerful voices in the depth of the cathedral — all of this somehow existed outside of her. Yel'ka sensed everything now as if from afar, from her exhausted, totally devastated world. She felt as if the fires of shame should burn her for that which had taken place, the disgrace, the sin, the depravity of it all, but even that she somehow did not feel; there was only a dull pain, a feeling of devastation and of infinite grief.

Finally, she got up. After all, she had to go and help the girls gather the fodder. The driver, who was busying himself with the motor, turned toward Yel'ka and smiled unpleasantly, displaying the bareness of his inverted, tucked up harelip:

"How was your rest, Olena, little woman?" and winked at her with loathsome intimacy. "Didn't you freeze under the tarpaulin? I, for one, was freezing in the cab..."

He, as it turned out, was in the cab! He appeared to have gone somewhere, but as it turned out, he was here. And she could tell by his face, by his insolent, conspiratorial smile that he knew everything. Well, now everybody would know.

For a minute the thought of it scalded her, but then indifference overcame her once again. Slowly she went off to the cathedral, and lowering her head, which was covered up to her eyes with a scarf, she stopped at the threshold in front of the wide open doors that led into the dusk of the cathedral. She did not dare to cross the threshold. It seemed to her that the moment she crossed it something terrible would happen. The earth would split under her feet and the whole cathedral arch would come down on her, on her the fallen one, the desecrated one.

The party was made up of those people who always leave the restaurant last.

"'They were the last to leave the sinking ship', that's how they will write about us one day", the redhead said.

After the stuffiness and heavy odor of the restaurant, the air outside on the street seemed to make them even more intoxicated. The shapely-legged, tall redhead swayed about on high heels and leaned on Taratuta's shoulder.

"Give me a cigarette".

"Boy", Taratuta turned to one of the party, who had not yet passed his teens, "did you hear? The lady wishes a cigarette".

The boy immediately pulled out a pack of 'Shipka' and offered her one: "Here you are, Jeanne . . ."

"My first husband", the redhead said, as she carelessly lifted the cigarette to her lips, "Volodymyr Izotovych Loboda would even call me Jeanny . . . he could be very sentimental on occasions. Just as a first . . ."

"He was the first and who will be the last?" asked the thug with the bulldog face and the rolled up sleeves. A ponderous hulk of a man with an oval shaped face sunk low into his shoulders. A small shock of hair hung over his forehead. A violet heart pierced by an arrow was tattooed on his hairy hand. "It's too bad there are no academicians in our city", he remarked, "You could then become the widow of an academician".

"Where shall we go", said the other woman who was not a redhead, but just as tall and long-legged. She had glossy black hair, and dark eyelashes. Her eyes had artificial oriental slits, just like those of a geisha girl.

"Let's go to the square and scare the guards", Taratuta proposed.

"I don't like the square", the redhead said capriciously. "Neon lights spoil the complexion of my face. I want to go to the Dnipro. I shall take a swim!"

"Swimming at night — that's good", the bulldog said. He adjusted the transistor radio which hung from his shoulder and linked arms with the geisha girl.

The whole party walked down the street with an air of dignity. The neon light of the show windows bathed them in pale blue. From the 'Window of Satire' somebody was arguing with a raised bottle.

"No, no, anything but that!" the geisha girl exclaimed, stopping in front of the 'Window of Satire'. Among the figures of drunkards and hooligans sketched in India ink, somebody had posted a picture of a young girl captured by the camera, while still quite disheveled in the sobering-up station. "The poor girl! They post it and even give identification: a loose person without known occupation. And there you are for the whole city to jeer at".

"Certainly they wouldn't spell out", added Jeanne, "why I ran away from the distinguished Loboda, how he ruined my life, how he devastated the spring of my soul . . ."

"Let's get out here", the frightened geisha girl said and instinctively covered her face with her hand: she thought, apparently, that she too might be photographed right here on the spot and her picture displayed on the square with the speculators and drunkards . . .

"Don't worry, Era", the bulldog calmed her, "El señor is with you . . ."

They kept on going. They ambled along with an air of nonchalance. Behind them another party of late-night stranglers trudged along. They made boisterous remarks about the shapely legs of Taratuta's female companions, until he turned around and confronted them:

"Are you looking for trouble, citizens? Be careful, I've had my lumps too".

And the bulldog added:

"We're celebrating today. We're observing the second month's anniversary of the return of one of our group from a place where the noses freeze off the faces of young punks like you. Therefore don't mess up our jazzy night of neon bliss. I advise you to keep your distance".

With that the other party retreated. It could be that some of them even recognized in the stocky one the famous Obruch who recently returned from the Kolyma regions, which, as he put it, were "so close to his heart" and "rich in mineral resources". They took him from his job on the slag piles and then after his sentence was up, they threw him right back where he came from.

"And why is Vitia so quiet?" said Era. "After all, the banquet was in his honour".

"My boy, it's all to your credit", Taratuta as he wrapped his heavy arm around the boy. "It's damned decent of you to wash down your first take-home-pay. Remember, today we initiated you into adult society".

"Vitia, you — an adult?" Jeanne burst out laughing looking at the young pipe-fitter. "You're no longer just an errand boy in the factory? And I'll bet you're already looking for a woman to love".

"But before you do, you must attend my husband's lecture", the dark-complexioned geisha girl added with a smile. "His lecture on love is his trump card. When he gives it, you're captivated. It even makes old ladies cry".

"How novel", Obruch said, "While the esteemed lecturer is off somewhere instructing the working masses how they should make love, his youthful wife, our beautiful Era, spends her evening in a restaurant in the pleasant company of hard working citizens . . . Well, to each his own, as the philosopher put it".

"The is not teaching anybody anything", Taratuta remarked, "nobody pays any attention to old sayings about love. By now he must have rattled off his stuff and collected his money. He must be sleeping now with the sleep of one who has just received a fat travel allowance".

"My poor lecturer", the geisha girl became sentimental, "there you are somewhere in a provincial hotel . . . provincial fleas are biting you . . . Oh my dearest! You lecture to everyone on love, but you yourself never learned how to love. You will die without ever knowing what love is!" And wiggling her buttocks as she continued to walk, she fell to reciting: "It was autumn. A dreary, atomic rain fell. Two people were sitting on a porch remembering distant, pre-atomic springs . . . That's how atomic novels will begin". She suddenly stopped and exclaimed: "Could it be that these beautiful nights are the last? Could it be that for the degenerate generations of the future we will be nothing but antiquity?"

The electric clock on the corner pointed to the late hour.

The redhead in a sudden attack of curiosity began to ask Taratuta why they had sent him back from India before his tour of duty was up.

"Didn't someone tell you", Obruch explained for his friend, "his only sin was to bring black-skinned girls to the hotel . . ."

"Are the black-skins better than us? Tell me, are they really better?"

Their attention was diverted by the show-window of a boutique which featured wedding gowns. There was a mannequin wearing a starched wedding gown of foam-like muslin.

"To wear a white gown like that one and then — to the altar!" The former Mrs. Loboda exclaimed, "that was my dream. And at night there must be candles and organ music . . . in Riga I once heard organ music in a cathedral. It was so . . . so . . . I never heard anything more beautiful than that in my whole life and I never will again. Bach's fuges! Kidnap me Taratuta! Take me away! Let's get married in the cathedral!"

"Only sparrows get married there", Taratuta muttered, "and besides, you're divorced, and they don't marry divorcees there".

Obruch commented that he could not understand why this cathedral had not been done away with by now. Not much is needed — a box of T.N.T. . . . and Taratuta also thought of tanks. He said that it was the night after the war and the guys with the tanks knew how to get away with murder. The theory was they were on night maneuvers and it just so happened, they would accidentally nudge a little village shop, and then — "Help yourselves, brothers! There's plenty to eat and drink".

"Did you make all this up yourself?" Jeanne smiled.

Taratuta just frowned as if to say, 'believe it or not'. And glancing at the show window he began in a chummy manner to question the boy:

"Vitia, my green young friend, tell me, don't you sometimes have the urge to . . . to step up and smash a window with something heavy?"

"What for?" the youth answered surprised.

"Oh, just for the hell of it. Just one blow and the whole thing is in pieces... Don't tell me you don't have the urge?"

"No!"

"Then you don't have it in you . . . that effervescence of freedom", Obruch said, peeved, "that absolute freedom; you're still a calf".

"Don't call me names", the boy bristled, offended.

"I said that as a friend. I would never abuse a man that I didn't hold in high esteem. You'll just have to forgive your leader".

"For a leader you're a pretty difficult person to get along with", Era commented.

"I wouldn't deny that. It's just like the guy who sent a petition to his factory collective: 'In as much as I have a very bad character and can not get along with my cell mates, I would like to ask you to let me out on probation . . .'"

The stream of people pouring out of the movie house after the last show pushed aside our party. The undulating crowd flowed past them.

The movie crowd was made up for the most part of young people and many of them were from the factory as our group. The "boy" ducked

instinctively into the shadows of the trees; apparently he did not want to be seen in the company of drunks. Some of the girl factory workers passed by sharing their impressions of the film. Their eyes still glittered with tears. The theater then sent forth a second wave over the already depopulated square. Obruch put his arms around the shoulders of the ladies. He stood nonchalantly between his beauties and watched the crowd move by. He spoke almost sentimentally about the many people in the world who never sat in a cell, who never felt the presence of the guards behind their back, and who never heard their sentences pronounced . . .

The crowd subsided and Vitia withdrew from the shadows. He was pale from the heavy drinking and blue in the neon light. He stepped out and immediately moved to the rear, because not far away a workers patrol was passing by, and in it there were two girl pipe-fitters from his shop. They walked in step and with an air of dignity proudly displayed their red arm bands. The factory girls cast hard glances in the direction of Obruch's company as they passed by, their heels striking the pavement in unison. The men in the patrol appeared even more severe as they paraded past. Obruch objected that the whole thing was too idyllic, that these female watchdogs of law and order cannot even imagine the number of hard-boiled criminals curling up, now that the whistle has sounded, on their plank beds all over the government camps.

Vitia asked if it were true that one thief would betray another and that there are many among them who are without fear.

"But who's to fear?" asked the bulldog as he made a wry face. "There is no God, only the law. Just don't run afoul of the statutes . . ."

Near a grocery store they met somebody else. He didn't have a haircut, was unshaven, and wore a rumpled beret. Although Obruch didn't know him, the stranger treated him like an old friend. He clenched a roll of bills in his first and inquired constantly where he might get a drink although he could barely stand on his feet.

"Who the heli are you? Obruch wanted to know. "A cop or something?"

"I could have been a great man", he mumbled, "but as it is, I am a nobody — just like you".

"And who do you think we are?" the wife of the lecturer asked nervously.

"Stampeding horses of these times", the stranger said as if he were sobering up, "cattle which bellow at the sun before an eclipse . . . But we have a sixth sense for fate . . . We have an intuition for the inevitable final end of things".

"Oh, you're one of the wise men", Obruch exclaimed, "and I thought you were just a run-of-the-mill grafter, who doesn't have enough time to drink away his bribes — an expert with television sets or something like that".

"I can handle television sets . . . and receivers of all sorts . . . I repair everything that's made. And I know that I can repair nothing forever . . . I can even restore cathedrals and that is my crowning glory: I am a steeplejack that restores things".

"That's really fascinating!" Era exclaimed. "That means you go all the way up there to the top? From there you must really see sights?"

"There are hundreds of things all around to look at . . . I see everything . . . where they steal . . . and where the poachers take their fish-broth . . . I cast my glance from the heights beyond the horizons of the everyday world".

"Can you look into the soul? Into the depths of the soul?" Jeanne asked provokingly.

"Not there. Nobody can do that. We have split the atom, penetrated the cosmos, we are piping oil from the center of the earth . . . But no one has looked into the soul, no one! It is unfathomable. Its darkness has no end. Only a mysterious something gleams there with its eternal riddles . . ."

"But what are you — a psycho?" Obruch scrutinized the steeplejack. "Maybe you're an escapee from the Ihren Mental Institution?"

"You scare me!" Era recoiled from him.

"Have no fear", Obruch calmed her, "if he gets nasty, I'll handle him. I'm planning myself to go to the Ihren Institution with a club to take care of the violent ones. They say it's a well paid job".

Taratuta sized up the steeplejack suspiciously:

"Have you ever been injured? Perhaps you fell off of a cathedral?"

"All of you have been injured", the steeplejack said as he sized up the group. "Maybe I have been too . . . I was not in the war but life has dealt me plenty of hard blows . . . Well, what about a drink?"

Once again a roll of bills popped up in his fist. The roll, apparently, had its effect on Taratuta and he remembered the restaurant at the train station which is open 24 hours a day.

"It's on me", said the steeplejack, and they all headed to the train station.

But they never got to the restaurant. A new cherry-colored "Volga" was parked on the square in front of the station. The car with its protruding nickel antenna caught Jeanne's eye, and she amused herself by twanging the antenna back and forth. No one was in the car. Taratuta pressed his fat finger against the bottom of the door handle and the doors opened easily, almost automatically. The key was in the ignition and the radio played softly. Apparently the owner had just left his car for a minute to pick up somebody at the train station.

"The idiot forgot his keys", Taratuta said as he grabbed them. "What shall we do to him for that?"

Jeanne was the first to jump into the car.

"Off to the beach! Let's go for a swim! You take the wheel, Taratuta!"

Impatiently and with muffled guffaws they all pressed themselves into the car. The steeplejack also climbed in and flopped himself drunkenly onto the lap of one of the women: he was indignantly shoved into a corner. Only the boy Vitia didn't get in. He stood there pale, frightened by their prank.

"Come on, Vitia!" Era's voice could be heard from within the car. "There's room for all of us. You can sit on my lap".

The boy did not move. Fear crept into his bulging, expressive eyes.

"Well?" Taratuta barked from the driver's seat.

"Are you deaf or something?" Obruch spat out angrily over Taratuta's shoulder.

"I won't go!" the boy said as he stepped back. He threw up his hands, as if he were defending himself: "I won't go! won't go!"

And he ran from the car, as if he had lost his senses.

The cherry-colored "Volga" was seen that night in the factory district, where it knocked about in dark alleys. It hopped over trolley tracks and shot through the city at a tremendous speed to the left bank and then zoomed under the viaduct, where it narrowly missed a cyclist who was out late at night. It sped down the river drive to the water works, weered about there crazily in a circle and without stopping headed toward the outlying villages. It has yet to pass the Gothic spires formed by the poplar trees, the weeping willows along the side of the dam, and the boys and girls who make love under these willows. The couples stood there with their arms intertwined just as they did in the eighteenth century . . . The lovers were startled and shielded themselves from the headlights. The car, spraying them with exhaust fumes, sped madly on along factory roads in the general direction of the slag piles.

"Faster! Faster!" an almost hysterical female voice could be heard in the car.

"Where are we going to?"

"To the steppes where the horses neigh!"

"Take from life whatever you can! That's what my Loboda taught me. By hook or by crook!"

Jeanne ripped off a window curtain; she stuck her head out of the window, and a white cloth fluttered in the wind.

"This is no white flag", she raged intoxicated with speed, this is our banner of war against boredom!"

"Let's fly!" Era uttered completely senseless. "Off to the unknown, to absolute freedom!"

The steeplejack shook Taratuta's shoulder:

"Let me drive. I'll hit a hundred!"

Taratuta shook himself free from his grasp:

"Leave me alone or out you go!"

"I'll drive it up to 120".

They wound up in some blind alley — nothing but piles of slag, residue from the factory, and the smell of acid. They couldn't go any farther. Taratuta and Obruch climbed out of the car, looked around, and discussed the situation with each other.

"Where have you taken me?" the geisha girl shrieked from the car. "What will my mother-in-law say?" What am I doing out with you? Why am I like this? I don't understand it myself". Anxiously she searched about with her eyes in the darkness, in the ethereal folds of night, and seemed to be

listening to something. "Is it possible that only dark chaos will survive — only dead canyons, not bustling bright cities . . ."

"That's enough, you're really getting carried away!" Jeanne interrupted her. "I believe in universal salvation. Knights in shining armor will appear to save us . . . They will come, won't they?"

"Nobody is going to come", the steeplejack muttered. "We are at the end of a cycle. We have descended from the pithecanthropus, we have run our course, and now we shall disappear swallowed up by eternity. We have spent ourselves . . . It would have been much better to have been born in the paleozoic age and to hunt mammoths".

And already they see mammoths on top of the slag piles. The shadows of prehistoric giants graze amid the phantasms of the night on top of the bushes — Presto! — And they are gone. The late-night moon creeps out from under the horizon, out of the depths of the night. It moves with great effort. It appears and remains motionless over the horizon — red, big, and evil. It's not a moon for lovers. It portends doom.

"Let's have some fun! I want to have fun! screamed Jeanne overcoming the awe and fear which was generated by this forlorn place. "Taratuta, Obruch, come here!" she cried to the two shadows, "we are scared".

They got into the car once again, put the gears in reverse and backed out of the blind alley.

"To the cathedral!" the steeplejack came up with the idea, "I'll show you real heights".

Everybody liked this proposition. They wanted diversions, new kicks and thrills. They wanted to shake up the village, to speed off somewhere, to be free in everything . . .

The steeplejack squeezed between the women and, constantly bumped by them, searched with his hand in the glove compartment.

"Ah! Here are additional supplies!" he exclaimed. "A bottle of brake fluid".

Obruch grabbed the bottle away from him and put a light on it:

"Cognac!"

They pulled out the cork and began to guzzle from the bottle. The woman also got a sip. Everybody became exuberant.

"To the cathedral! To the cathedral!" Jeanne screamed. "Let's pray away our sins".

Soon the car sped along Shyroka Street. The trees here grew together forming a green tunnel, through which the car flew. The moon flashed through openings in the branches like a red ball and somehow looked absolutely evil against the black sky.

Bounding onto the square the "Volga" stopped in front of the cathedral. The party poured out of the car.

"I'll have the gates open for you right away", said the steeplejack, and fidgeting around the keyhole, he actually managed to unlock the heavy portals, throwing them wide open.

The party tumbled into the cathedral. The women fearfully peering through the dusk.

"Where's the organ?"

Obruch turned on his transistor radio and for the first time in the history of the cathedral jazz resounded wildly under its high arches. Noise filled the air, a frightening empty noise. The shadows came alive and started to turn in circles.

"Look, there's something there", screamed Era, pressing herself closely to Obruch, and staring into darkness. "It's animals! It's some kind of a menagerie".

Having now gotten used to the darkness, everybody noticed the heads of wild boars, which peered from all around the walls while their tusks moved.

"Let's get out of here! I'm scared!" Era grabbed Obruch, but he, going up to the nearest boar, began to growl and tease the animal like a clown, while increasing the volume of the jazz music.

While lighting his cigarette, Taratuta struck a match and a naked figure appeared in the dusk before him — nailed to a cross, with a crown of thorns, and streams of blood issuing from under a layer of dust . . . From the heights of the central cupola a thick chain hung, on which at one time a chandelier had been suspended. The chandelier had disappeared long ago: the chain remained and the steeplejack, spreading out his arms tried to reach it, so that he might swing a bit. His size put him at a disadvantage. He jumped grotesquely, struggled upwards, but could in no way get hold of the chain. His vain attempts amused everyone. They all became giddy. Their initial fright subsided; the dusk was no longer threatening; their eyes got used to seeing the boars, which now grinned in the shadows somewhat more domestically. The jazz beat invited the people to dance, they sought madness, oblivion.

Jeanne, as if seized by wild, joyous fury, crouched and began to twist. The others were swept into it. The orgy began.

Late that night Yel'ka and Mykola Bahlai wandered around in the vicinity of Raduta, amid familiar places, along those crimson lakes where the glow from the depths never fades. Yel'ka had met with her uncle Yahor at the funeral of Nechuyviter, came to an understanding with him, and promised to visit him; and now they were returning from this visit.

They were coming back from Raduta at a time when everything was asleep, and nothing disturbed Zachiplianka's rest. They did not hear the jazz beat nor the screams of the wild orgy until they found themselves in front of the cathedral, in front of its wide opened doors. It seemed to them that some savage invaders from another planet, screaming like apes and roaring drunkenly, had forced their way into the cathedral and had defiled the place. Mykola didn't even have time to remember Zachiplianka's ancient history, the time when Professor Yavornyts'kyi chased the followers of Makhno from the cathedral; he didn't even have time to consider the possible consequences of what he was doing. He was hardly able to call out "Hold it!" to Yel'ka

as he flung himself with three bounds through the wide open doors into whirl of savage, cynical ugliness which was desecrating his beautiful poem . . .

And also Yel'ka could not stop him; even if she had been able to, she would not have done it. She heard the screaming suddenly cease; she heard a strange voice filled with hatred:

"What do you want? Get the hell out of here!"

And then she saw some shaggy aborigenes flying out of the cathedral, head first. She heard ugly yells, drunk, obscene curses, and then something flashed through the air; a knife blade flashed in the darkness of the cathedral. Yel'ka became petrified: on the threshold of the cathedral, confronting Mykola with the hooligan's blade of Finish steel, stood death, menacing, black, and violent.

With all her strength, with her entire being she screamed in the direction of Zachiplianka, in the direction of the villages: "Help!"

And when Yel'ka ran up to Mykola, he was already lying face down on the threshold of the cathedral. She knelt bending over him, she heard his blood gush, and in her despair, in a delirium of despondency, she stammered, as if imploring for his life a prayer:

"I love you! Love you! Love you!"

Turmoil developed around the car. Once again curses were heard. They could not start the motor; they had lost the keys somewhere in the cathedral . . .

Yel'ka's screams awakened all of Zachiplianka. Nobody could get to sleep in the village until morning. The bushes in the orchards splintered behind those who were running away, and now these were no longer orchards of moon-lit magic, of mist. It was now a night of persecution, of gnashing teeth, of wringing hands . . .

Having sent Mykola off in an ambulance, the people of Zachiplianka did not disperse; they gathered near the cathedral; they surrounded it, and waited for the police. They were silent.

A jagged moon hung red over the village. It brought to mind all of life's beginning and ends.

The sinewy acacia trees of Zachiplianka await at night their new blossom. Somebody's love awaits the silvery acacia night. Every morning the old factory awakens the villages with its whistles. Its powerful whistles seem to come from the deep, they move the people and startle them. And the factory workers walk on and pursue their eternal course — from shift to shift, night and day. On weekdays Zachiplianka is once again on the path of its eternal stream. Factory, home, and once again factory. And it is as if this routine were the daily staple of Zachiplianka's existence, and there is something indestructible, something that endures in the sinewy tenacity of this life.

Zachiplianka awaits her Bahlai. She awaits him like a mother who worriedly picks fruits for her son's pie of rich Petrykivka cherries, which, dipped in a dark-red hue, blaze brightly in the sun. She awaits him in the glare of her pond, around which the children shout light-heartedly; all those

young friends of Mykola who, during visiting days, bring packages for him to the factory hospital, and who are so proud of him, convinced that although he never wore the red band of the guards, there is, nevertheless, no one more brave than he among all the guards in this factory district. Sometimes the children see a swarthy girl, Yahor's Yel'ka, with a white kerchief in the hospital yard. She comes in sadness, sits down on the bench under the linden tree and sits there for hours in front of the windows of the ward, waiting for the doctors to allow Bahlai to get out of bed. And finally he looks out to her from some window, pale and anemic. Everyday the concrete, heat-satiated buildings of the hospital and the glare-reflecting windows of the ward see Bahlai's bride, as she comes in the morning to stand watch by her lover, and in thoughtful sadness she will wait and wait as long as she will have to, although the fragrant linden tree will shed its blossoms and the wind will blow away its leaves . . .

In the evenings Ivan and Virun'ka come out to sit on their historical bench. They sit there under the stars of Zachiplianka like an idyllic couple. And whenever Mykola's name comes up in their conversation, the older Bahlai cannot find an explanation for this drama which he considers senseless, and he cannot control his indignation: even over there, among the uncivilized tribes where he got lost that one time, nobody pulled a knife, and here . . . they got him . . . those homemade savages . . . The factory casts steel day and night — is it really for Finnish blades? Five knife wounds, one of them only a millimeter away from the heart; the boy almost lost his life. The surgeons really had to work to save him, and it could have been all in vain but his youthful constitution helped. Now the wounds have been sewn up and are beginning to heal gradually . . .

Sometimes the Bahlais stay out very late. Ivan has changed; he returned a different person, and Virun'ka senses that. Especially when he begins to tell her about the mysterious Taj-Mahal, which, on the one side is ornamental with a black stone and that stone sings. Not everyone can hear it, but if one can tune in right, then — it really does sing, although barely audibly. That's how the ancient Indian masters set it up. And even today their secret has not been divined — why does it sing? And both of them listen now involuntarily to their cathedral, which stands high on the square and sinks its tops into the darkness of the sky — doesn't it also sing sometimes, quietly and from afar?

The cathedral is silent.

One cannot see the deterioration, nor the rust; the night heaps on it all the trauma of the ages.

All around passions rage, the lances of battle break constantly between the builders and the poachers, but it stands, thinking its eternal thoughts. What does it think about? Everything has passed in review here in front of it as before a witness or a judge. Only not too long ago, it seems, carts rattled past it loaded with sheaves of grain; the revolution boiled on this same cathedral square, the bells sounded the alarm, and summoned the villagers

to meetings, to fires. They rang sometimes joyously and sometimes fearfully; they awoke the surrounding areas, banging with heavy tongues, which weigh many a pound, against their cast brass'sides. Thousands of female captives with their eyes wide open looked at it for the last time with an expression of suffering and yearning as they were being driven past the cathedral into German bondage. It heard sobs, and cries of hope, the iron rumble of war, and its own, ever more terrible silence . . . Now the bicycles of the work shifts roll inaudibly past it every day and every night.

The cathedral sees all things and has always seen them. The fairs pulsed around it, lively, resounding like the surf, glittering in red gaiety, in the gray glimmer of the caps, showing off with fancy sleighs . . . Did all of it disappear just like that? Or does the cathedral guard within itself the echo of life immortal, the glittering of Cossack spears, the dissonant shouts of the people at the fairs, the jokes of the gypsies, the quarrels of the cattledealers, the neighing of the horses disturbed by their sale, the teasing laughter of happy tavern girls, the nightly whispers of lovers, starry embraces and conceptions . . . It is filled to the brim, loaded with it all. Wrapped up by the darkness of the night, with the helmets of its domes' curved surfaces it reaches for the stars. And the steel bubbles in the furnaces. And when they remove the slag behind the Dnipro, and when the whole sky floods itself with a red glow, so that the tops of the orchards light up as if they were etched in the sky, and the smallest leaf becomes discernible — it is at such a time that the cathedral suddenly emerges in the light of the factories from the darkness of the night. And as long as the sky glows and breathes over the shores of the Dnipro, the cathedral will stand in the factory village, illuminated, with the wind in its sails, and immaculate just like that time in the past, when it first appeared here, having arisen as if by magic from the soul of its wise and powerful masters.

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Ivan DZYUBA

“OUR FIRST THINKER...”

Below we publish a translation of Ivan Dzyuba's essay on the Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoryj Skovoroda entitled “Our First Thinker...”. The translation is by Wolodymyr Slez.

*Ivan Dzyuba was one of the most prominent members of the Ukrainian opposition in the sixties and early seventies. He shot to prominence in the West in 1968 with the appearance of his book *internationalism or Russification?* The book, in the wake of mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965 was a powerful attack on the illegality of the Soviet imperialistic system using Marxist arguments.*

Dzyuba was imprisoned for authorship of the book. The essay on Skovoroda was written in 1962.

*In 1972 whilst he was in prison, Dzyuba succumbed to KGB pressure and recanted the views he expounded in *Internationalism or Russification?* Many Ukrainian political activists have criticised Dzyuba's weakness and in another part of this issue we print the second part of an essay by an unknown political prisoner which was sparked off by Dzyuba's recantation.*

Hryhoryj Skovoroda's life was unusual and the same can be said of his posthumous fame. During his life he had more followers than disciples and similarly after his death it has been customary for more people to honour his name and admire him as an individual rather than read his works and probe his mind. And it must be said in all honesty that today's average, educated individual or youth are prepared to pronounce the name Hryhoryj Skovoroda with respect, while hardly taking an interest in his “expositions” or seeking advice on matters of the heart and mind in his writings. Meanwhile, for some reason the better sons of Ukraine have always turned to Skovoroda in times of great anxiety and dilemma and turning points in history; to mention but Kotlarevskyj and Shevchenko; Tychyna's *Karmeliuk and Skovoroda* or Bulayenko. In different respects we may even include today's poets M. Vinhranovskyj and I. Drach...

Skovoroda is essentially a philosopher, even as a poet he excelled in his philosophico-theological writings. Strictly speaking he is a philosopher of a singular cast, his pathos lying not in the composition of all-embracing systems and concepts of the world, but in the poetic and psychological understanding of the human soul. Nevertheless, he certainly did not avoid general questions regarding the universe. He has been the subject of copious writings, numerous assumptions have been made about him and analogies drawn.

The titles of the Ukrainian Socrates or Ukraine's Plato have been bestowed on him. He has been compared to Descartes and Spinozza, Solovyev and Tolstoy. He has been called deist and pantheist; spiritualist and psychological monist; sensualist and the prophet of intuitivism, even energeticism, and all but the forerunner of Oswald. The latter was the most popular topic of discussion at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present one. It was a time when extraordinary interest blazed round Skovoroda's philosophy. It was patently obvious that Hryhoryj Skovoroda was no provincial oddity or wit, but a profound, original thinker of global import who trod one of the most interesting and bold paths in popular human thought. Consequently, a great deal of research went into placing Skovoroda in the history of the endeavours of philosophical thought, and linking his ideas with those of other philosophical concepts of the world. This helped to trace the true stature of the Ukrainian sage. Of course, much has still to be done in this sphere.

No one has yet analysed Skovoroda's thought against the background of the philosophy of his day and before or illustrated where he surpassed and where he fell short of levels reached prior to his age. There has been no research into a particular aspect of the problem seemingly of great interest: Skovoroda until the end of the 19th century was little known in the West and for this reason only, brought no influence to bear on European Philosophy. This occurred at a time when European and World Thought during the 18th century and until the 19th century battled with the very same "annoying questions" as Skovoroda, sometimes arriving at mutually compatible viewpoints.

It is interesting to see how roughly similar and approximately synchronous ideas developed in different ways and assumed different importance, depending on the various, vital, social problems that confronted the thinker and his subjective stance. Nevertheless, the dissimilar tones of often similar ideas, and the disparity of the compatible or that which could be made so belong to the greatest treasures and delights of human spiritual life. It would be interesting for example to compare Skovoroda's favourite postulates with the ideology of Early English Puritanism, as exemplified by John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*: North American Transcendentalism (Ralph Emerson, Henry Thoreau and others . . .) with their theory of moral autonomy, faith in oneself and the inner search for a higher moral code.

However, it is not simply a matter of the occasionally striking consonance in individual postulates and metaphors, but, the fact that they were different and in a certain fashion similar reactions with a didactic element, to in a way tragically similar socio-historical processes; the violent and brutal onslaught of a false epoch on human individuality, of vanity on conscience, false values on genuine, real values . . .

It is also interesting from a completely different point of view to compare anthropological elements in Skovoroda's theology with Feuerbach's later

integral anthropological concept or with Dostoyevskyj. Skovoroda has frequently been compared to Tolstoy, although this analogy is very superficial. In my opinion there is a deeper, inner kinship between Skovoroda and Dostoyevskyj both in their concept of God and their passionate search for religious truth; in the intensity of their inner dialogue and tragedy of conscience. However, it seems that Skovoroda was more lucid . . .

However, there is a writer who is inwardly most closely related to Skovoroda and that is Shevchenko. They are united by something essentially Ukrainian in the understanding of truth and conscience as absolute human principles as they have been reflected in Ukrainian national philosophy and folklore: an inner intransigence and revolt, a protest against the violation of human beings, contempt for vanity and ornament and the hard struggle of the spirit for something original and inmost.

At this point we have arrived at a problem which has not yet been completely explored nor properly formulated: Skovoroda the *Ukrainian* philosopher. Indeed, can one really understand him outside the historico-national sequence which includes such figures as Ivan Vyshensky, the 17th century Polemicists, Melchizedek Znachko-Yavorskyj, the Cossack Chroniclers and the Haydamaky in particular, who fought against the tsarist policy practised by Elizabeth, Catherine and Peter, or destroying the Ukrainian "difference" ("that there should be no difference . . .").

And did not this Ukrainian "difference" demonstrate itself with tremendous vigour in the figure of Skovoroda whom many contemporaries have not yet understood. Might not his insistent denial of official good and state wisdom have been a strong and original transformation of the elemental, national stubborn opposition to the enforced "making happy" of people, and social and national oppression: the transformation of the elemental power of the Ukrainian "difference"? Is it in fact possible to understand Skovoroda outside this framework and similarly outside Ukrainian national philosophy and psychology? By the same token, can one understand the resistance of human thought and conscience to the pressures of a false epoch outside the context of innumerable and significant historical analogies?

Another problem has also not been researched which necessarily springs from this phenomenon. For the sake of argument let us call it the problem of the intelligentsia and the people, the Ukrainian Intelligentsia and the Ukrainian People. We refer here not only to everything which follows on from the numerous passionate judgments of Hryhoryi Skovoroda concerning the duty of the 'educated individual' to the people, but in addition, everything which ensues form his personal choice and actions in an age when the foundations of Ukrainian life were being destroyed or were decaying. The Ukrainian intelligentsia became tragically separated from the people. A still young civilization was becoming extinct and so few had the courage and wisdom to go to the ordinary folk, the Ukrainian peasants and say the following:

"I laugh at lordly wisdom which regards
the ordinary folk as ignorant . . . They
say they are asleep, in a deep and noble sleep
at that; but every sleep is followed
by an awakening, and he who sleeps is
neither a corpse nor a carcass'..

Finally, a further question. Who made people as a whole and the youth ignorant of Skovoroda, primarily his philosophical works, when did this happen and how? He makes interesting reading! His lively, irascible and truly astonishing voice transports a person into the broad and startling world of the eternal striving of the human spirit. His powerful and versatile imagination paints magnificent, vivid, poetic pictures and in the torrent of an unstemmable tide drives them towards the reader . . .

They say that reading is made difficult by his ponderous and to a great extent artificial language. This is partly true. However, it is nevertheless easy to accustom oneself to his language, for, notwithstanding his occasionally non-Ukrainian vocabulary (let us take into account Skovoroda's predicament; he had first of all to formulate his own philosophical language) it is still deeply national and Ukrainian in structure, "flow", spirit and intonation, without mentioning imagery. Even numerous general and Old-Slavonic, and Russian words lose their specific meaning in his writings and adopt a slightly different "Ukrainian" ring: (it is interesting to examine these aberrations and compare them with the language of a particular type of philosophising peasant who still exists today in Slobodzhanshyna and the Donbas).

However, this is not really our main concern in any case. We are more worried by the fact that in schools and universities they have not revealed to us the true wealth of interest and beauty of our literary heritage. During the age of the personality cult much was done to make people run their lives to dogma and not thought. They were prevented from knowing the joy of drinking from the life-giving springs of the human spirit. And much has perhaps still to be done by researchers, writers and pedagogues, in order to make "our first thinker", Hryhoryj Skovoroda vitally important to every young man and woman: to allow him to nurture their thought and conscience, help them to solve the complex issues of the present day and its moral atmosphere, so that the name of Skovoroda means as much to each one of us and speaks to us in the same way as it did to Taras Shevchenko, the first to be fully aware of his importance.

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A Soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, with Vasylko, aged 14,
and Taras aged 15. Spring 1947.

Roman ZWARYCH

UKRAINIAN REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

A CONCEPTUAL SURVEY

Introduction

Every revolution is unique in that it is essentially determined by one central guiding principle, or a "concept of struggle", specific to the subtle dynamic and objective necessities of that revolutionary process. This central "principle" engenders distinct and particular "life-forces", subjectively inherent to the on-going and increasingly volatile revolutionary process. These "life-forces" are the concrete objectification of this revolutionary "principle". It is their responsibility to formulate a conceptualized strategy, emulating this "principle" in full, and also taking into account a wide scope of tactical possibilities, present and future exigencies, and, most importantly, the primary goal to be reached. The decisive problematical factors in each revolutionary process are a.) the capacity of these "life-forces" to translate this conceptualized strategy into a practical and most appropriate tactical methodology of struggle, and b.) the ability of the leadership of the revolutionary struggle to transmit the conceptualized strategy to the wider layers of the society in a form that is not only acceptable, but highly provocative, probing, mobilizing and action-oriented.

However, this ability is directly related to the explicit revolutionary nature and scope of the central, determinating "concept" of the struggle itself. A revolutionary leadership will be absolutely ineffective in mobilizing protagonists and adherents to the revolutionary struggle, if the guiding concept of the struggle presents little if any revolutionary potential, if the principle of the struggle, e.g., the "vision" being projected, calls for limited and not total revolutionary consequences. A political movement, that is primed toward superficial rather than substantive change, cannot be considered "revolutionary". On the other hand, no revolutionary vision is able of and by itself to create a distinct revolutionary situation with potentially far-reaching socio-political proportions. The elements of *faith* and *will*, objectively personified in an all-cohesive, fully goal-oriented revolutionary movement, are the key factors by which every revolutionary vision is transformed from an abstract philosophical "good" to a concrete and graspable ideal, imbued with high heroic demands, and in the name of which wider masses of people will sacrifice their well-being and their lives if necessary.

Ukrainian nationalism, as an organized political movement, incorporating highly mobilizing characteristics in its activity, finally

became force in its own right in the late 1920's and early 30's. What is most remarkable indeed with regard to the Ukrainian revolutionary movement is that it managed to remain revolutionary over an extended period of time in a world epoch, during which revolutions were being made in the name of socialism — a diametrically opposite ideal. Ukrainian nationalism has managed to sustain its revolutionary virulence and fervor until this day, an attestment to which is the current national movement in Ukraine, which is presently reaching extended proportions and is threatening the very essence of the Soviet-Russian system. It is the aim of this study to analyse the phenomenon of modern Ukrainian nationalism, with special emphasis on the conceptual framework from which it emerged, which it itself engendered, and which provided the fibre by which the movement managed to sustain itself over an extended period of struggle. It is the view of this author that this extended dynamism, unusual for a political movement, especially if one takes into account the harsh and severe conditions in which it evolved, is precisely due to the revolutionary character and content of its integral concept of liberation. Every revolution manifests itself initially as an attitude, an orientation, a level of consciousness, at times projecting itself as a movement with the explicit, enunciated and clear goal of realizing a set of fundamental socio-political changes and then effectuating these changes within a new format and structure. However, although change is by definition inherent to every revolutionary process, it is the normative and subjective content of this change that is the key in any attempt to analyse and understand a given revolutionary process, situation, or movement. Every revolution, on a conceptual plane, has its own *a priori* "law", so to speak, inherent only to itself. In analyzing any revolutionary socio-political phenomenon, this "law" must first be discovered and established, since it is the mainspring of its peculiar logic and logistics.

Consequently, within the framework of this study, primary emphasis will be placed on the "theory" of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism as it was expounded by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the concrete emanation of this theory put into practice as a definite, well organized revolutionary movement. Every revolutionary movement demands a certain level of loyalty, not so much to itself, as to the "cause". Total devotion to a vision, to an ideal, rather than strictly to a movement, is the mould from which revolutionaries are created. This commitment acquires a high-pitched and finely-tuned readiness to violently alter the existing political and social setting in which the revolutionary process evolves. In as much as this commitment becomes the crucial variable for a revolutionary movement, the role of the ideology of the movement must be taken into account, regardless of whether this ideology is in the simplistic form of rhetorical generic slogans, or within the format of a dangerously logical, dialectical setting. The ideology of

a movement acts as a political catalyst of an almost fanatical, inspirational commitment to a revolutionary cause, which in turn compels the revolutionary to commit deeds of unheralded heroism, bordering on complete self-denial.

In this regard, the explosive potency of a vision of an independent Ukrainian state, as it was encompassed by the nationalist ideology of the OUN movement in Ukraine, was precisely such a catalyst, which was not only the guiding imperative for every OUN member, but, it would be safe to say, this ideal of an independent national state has become the bare essence of life for practically every nationally-conscious Ukrainian. The OUN movement, and more importantly, the nationalist, essentially revolutionary message of the OUN, have not been stunted in Ukraine even at present, despite the repressive hypersensitivity of an imperialist, basically anachronistic system. Again, the author is inclined to believe that it is precisely because of its revolutionary nature that Ukrainian nationalism has stubbornly persisted to grow and evolve in spite of the efforts of the Soviet-Russian regime to eradicate all of its vestiges. Subsequently, this will be further expounded on below.

Furthermore, the revolutionary content of the ideological-theoretical framework of Ukrainian nationalism notwithstanding, no revolutionary struggle is determined strictly on this conceptual plane, albeit that is where revolutionary ferment is fostered. Instead, it is always the logistical strategic imperative and the operational, day-to-day tactical exigencies that prove to be decisive in every revolutionary struggle. Hence, it is also the object of this study to present these imperatives and exigencies, as they were understood and formulated by the leaders of the OUN. Concurrently, within a specific Ukrainian situational analysis, the formulation of these imperatives by the OUN leadership can be evaluated.

Finally, when speaking of revolution, the aspect of organization and revolutionary cadres cannot be ignored, since it is the revolutionary organization, whose primary function is to mobilize and then channel the heightened revolutionary fervor in a society undergoing fundamental ideological ferment and social and political change. In relation to the counter-revolutionary forces, the revolutionaries are militarily much weaker. Their strength lies elsewhere: in their relentless zeal, unwavering faith and uncompromising will. But, all these attributes must be effectively organized and even manipulated if they are to be of any significance vis-a-vis the forces of the regime. The major, if not only instrument by which this can be achieved is the revolutionary organization. Hence, the aspect of organization, primarily its internal structure and format, its hierarchical chain of command, the sociological background of its members, and the projected image of the organization in the society, coupled with its mobilizational devices and methods of coercion, all of these are crucial variables, which will directly have a bearing on the result of

every revolutionary situation and process. This organizational element must also be analyzed within the scope of this study; hence, primary emphasis will be placed on the role of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) as the main mobilizational and organizational vehicle, which carried the revolutionary process forward in Ukraine.

The Historical Roots — a synopsis

Modern Ukrainian nationalism, as an organized force, emulating its ideals in a concrete movement, is a phenomenon strictly tangent to the period preceeding the Second World War and extending well aspirations have been receiving further impetus from several highly-mobilized, albeit scattered, tightly organized revolutionary vantage points throughout all of Ukraine.¹ However, in order for this study to achieve a desired level of comprehensiveness, it is necessary to establish at the outset the rudimentary historical roots of this presently developed nationalist political culture, at least in a perfunctionary manner.

Modern Ukrainian nationalism has its established roots in the amorphous, but by no means static development of a political-national consciousness in Ukraine in the early and mid 19th century — a period of history, that has been labelled as the “spring of nations”. It was in this era that for the first time in the history of mankind the legitimacy of imperial-colonial conglomerates was seriously challenged from a national position. In Ukraine the last vestiges of organized military opposition to colonial Russian rule were eradicated in 1775, when Catherine II destroyed the Kozak stronghold — the Zaporizhka Sich. Yet, in the early 19th century a national rejuvenation was begun. It would be erroneous, however, to describe this incipient national renaissance, as a movement with extended social proportions. Instead, this gradually burgeoning and amplified mood of rising expectations and political, cultural, and national sensitivities among a segment of the Ukrainian population can be more appropriately described, in an allegorical manner, as an experimental trial, an exercise of sorts in the extension of the nation's politico-cultural antennae.

If one is to speak in terms of a “movement” in reference to this period in Ukrainian history, it would be proper to speak of a blind, aimless, plodding-forward-in-spite-of-itself type of movement. It lacked cohesiveness in outlook and aim, as well as a clear identity in form. The primary protagonists of this “experiment”, being that they were essentially cultural and literary activists, with limited if any political experience, never took the time to establish and

¹ Browne, Michael, *Ferment in Ukraine* (Woodhaven, N.Y.: Crisis Press, 1971) and *The Ukrainian Herald*, vol. I-VIII (Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publications).

formulate a hierarchy of political priorities, according to which this "movement" was to develop. The prevailing atmosphere was not in any sense ripe enough for the establishment of, in the very least, a semblance of leadership, if only for symbolic purposes, so that the rising tide of national consciousness, increasingly perceptible among the general populace, be consolidated into a force to be reckoned with.² It was finally up to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), organised in February, 1929, to provide the Ukrainian people not only with a sense of leadership, but also with a vision, a sense of purpose and mission. This was a vision not only nationalist in foundation, but completely revolutionary in its immediate context and far-sighted scope.

A National Renaissance

After the last remnants of an independent Kozak State were destroyed in Ukraine in 1764, the policies of the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine overtly threatened to permanently disfigure the spiritual identity and national psyche of the Ukrainian people. All independent Ukrainian political thought was, for all intents and purposes, rendered non-existent, because of the forced subordination and planned immolation of the leading intellectual elite of Ukraine by a brutal policy of russification. The greater masses of the people, dismembered from their integrally Ukrainian authoritative elite, forced to submit to a foreign and inimical regime and socio-political order, far from any centres of awareness and learning, were no longer capable of eliciting any organized and concentrated opposition on a mass scale. The people were becoming tired and weary as matters of one's immediate survival and material sustenance began to take precedence over such intangibles as ideals of freedom, independence, and statehood.

Yet, despite this, a Ukrainian national renaissance was engendered in the early 19th century. At first, in its incipient stages, this novel phenomenon was strictly limited to literary and cultural fields. But, for a subjugated people, for a national that is threatened with extinction, any integrally national manifestation must be considered a political factor. The immediate result of this cultural revival in Ukraine was the national reawakening of a considerable portion of the Ukrainian elite and intelligentsia, which until then found it unpopular, and even shameful to speak, much less write in Ukrainian, and was engaged in a desperate, even ridiculous search for its "Russian" roots. Now, the ever-increasing trend among intellectual circles in Ukraine was to search for their sublime Ukrainian roots,

²) Doroshenko, Dmytro, *Narys Istoriyi Ukrainy* (A Survey of the History of Ukraine), vol. I-II (Munich: "Dniprova Khvylya", 19666), sections XIII-XV, and Hrushevsky, Michael, *A History of Ukraine*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

which, in turn, led the Ukrainian intelligentsia to pay more long-warranted attention to their native people. In the later part of the 19th century, this cultural rejuvenation gave rise to a patriot-populist movement, which managed to reach rather extensive social unorganized and disperse movement were, firstly, to raise the cultural level of the Ukrainian populace through a long-term educational evolutionary policy, despite the widespread, officially implemented policy of russification of all phases of Ukrainian life. The major protagonists of this populist trend at times referred to as the "narodnik" movement, especially paid attention to the village, which was considered the last stronghold of a true and pure Ukrainian identity, or, if you will, the very bastion of "Ukrainianness". The second major aim of this movement was to take an active part in the political life of the empire within the already established legal framework of the colonial regime, so as to attain various forms of incremental reprieves for the Ukrainian people, especially in the area of culture.

It was in the mid 19th century, that the renowned Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, began writing. Most of Shevchenko's poems were of an explicitly political character, and he did not hide his deepest animosity for everything associated with Russia for the exploitation and suffering inflicted on the Ukrainian people. Shevchenko's writings stimulated and directed the political thinking of the Ukrainian intellectual elite, even though he himself was of peasant-serf origins. He called for the formation of a new Ukrainian character, more aggressive towards the enemy and more uncompromising, even revolutionary in its political beliefs. Shevchenko was the first among the activists of this rebirth period in Ukrainian history, who called for the initiation of a fervent revolutionary struggle for the establishment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian nation-state. In his "Testament", Shevchenko writes: "Bury me and rise up. Tear your chains asunder. And with bitter, wrathful blood, bless your freedom". Shevchenko may have lacked political sophistication, but what he lacked in sophistication he more than made up for in the fervor of his convictions; it was this highly emotional fervor and revolutionary zeal, quite evident in Shevchenko's writings, that brought about a strictly nationalist trend in Ukraine for the first time since the destruction of the Kozak Sich in 1775.

Two explicit conceptions and trends were becoming increasingly clear in this incipient phase of political development in Ukraine: the first called for a limited struggle, utilizing a line of minimal resistance to colonial rule in Ukraine, especially concentrating on the cultural plane; the second called for an all-out and resolute campaign of revolutionary struggle, against all forms of exploitation and subjugation on the part of the Russian authorities in Ukraine, and culminating in the realization of the political and national rights of the Ukrainian people to sovereignty, independence and statehood. This political bifurcation is important for us within the scope of this study,

since it was the harbinger of a similar bifurcation in the political life of Ukraine in the period between the two World Wars.

Together with this development of a political and enlivened national consciousness in Ukraine in the latter half of the 19th century, various underground socialist organizations and parties were founded throughout the entire Russian Empire, including in Ukraine. The leading and most representative Ukrainian socialist activist and thinker at this time was Mykhajlo Drahomaniw. Although Drahomaniw managed to alert many of his compatriots to the necessity of establishing a set of clear political priorities if the national movement in Ukraine was to achieve anything, his "cosmopolitan socialism" resulted in the disorientation of a good portion of the already politically conscious intellectual elite, in that Drahomaniw emphasized in his writings the immediate "human" factor, and the material wellbeing of the populace over the "national" factor. For him it was absolutely foolish and unrealistic to even speak of statehood and independence for Ukraine. Hence, he opted for a re-structuring of the Russian Empire along autonomous, federalist lines. But even this was not considered a priority by Drahomaniw. The material wellbeing of the Ukrainian populace was to take precedence over every other goal. Furthermore, his "cosmopolitanism", which translated into a form of Russophilism and even deference to Ukraine's "big brother", e.g., the Russian, had Drahomaniw openly stating, that all forms of struggle against Russia were futile, unnecessary and even harmful. Instead, Drahomaniw said, our Russian brother must be educated, in order for him to see his mistake in policy towards Ukraine. This fear and disdain of struggle and aggression, so typical of many "utopian socialists" in past periods, had negative consequences in the future, especially during the First World War, when the leading elite in Ukraine sat back and waited for freedom to be handed over to them, instead of initiating a military offensive campaign against any external threats to Ukrainian independence.

In spite of this popular socialist trend, with its so-called evolutionary conception, which called for following the political paths of least resistance so as not to antagonise Ukraine's "big brother", there remained a rather vociferous minority of stalwart nationalist elements, true to the ideas spawned and perpetuated by Taras Shevchenko. In 1891, in Poltava, the first nationalist organization was founded under the name — the *Brotherhood of Taras* proclaiming as its patron the great Ukrainian poet. Their ideal was a renewal of an independent Kozak state, encompassing all ethnographically Ukrainian territory, although they rejected, as a matter of principle, any type of Kozak-philism, which was part and parcel of the "narodnik" — populist platform. The primary task of the Brotherhood was the political and national liberation of the Ukrainian people. All socio-economic factors were considered to be subordinate to the matter of national liberation. Although the Brotherhood was a

conspiritorial organization, the Russian "okhrana" (secret police) managed to infiltrate its ranks and arrested its leading members.

In 1900 some former members and students of the Brotherhood, under the nominal leadership of Mykola Mikhnowsky, the recognized ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism at that time, founded the *Revolutionary Ukrainian Party* (RUP). Mikhnowsky's *Independent Ukraine*,³ a short pamphlet summarizing the main tenets of Ukrainian nationalism, became the official program of the RUP. The primary points enunciated by Mikhnowsky in this short political treatise were the following: a) the illegality and illegitimacy of Russian imperialist rule in Ukraine, considering that the world had accepted the principle of national self-determination as almost axiomatic in all international relations; b) stern criticism of the conciliatory, minimalist policies and activities of the past generation of "Ukrainophiles", as well as the present socialist-cosmopolitanist activists in Ukraine; c) an appeal to the Ukrainian people to raise arms in a revolutionary struggle for Ukraine's independence and sovereignty, concurrently orienting that struggle only on the integral organic strength of the Ukrainian nation as such.

The RUP'S revolutionary platform had widespread appeal not only in nationalist circles, but also in some socialist, even anarchist groups in Ukraine, whose major concern was that the existing tsarist regime be toppled and overturned. Hence, in spite of the RUP's uncompromisingly nationalist outlook, many diverse socialist elements aligned themselves with the party. In due time, these socialist elements managed to water down some of the purely nationalistic positions of the founding fathers of the RUP, with greater emphasis being put on federalist and socialist ideals. Independence was no longer the key word, giving way to its watered-down version of separatism or autonomy. In short, Drahomaniw's socialist cosmopolitanism and Russophilism were becoming influential theories even in the most principled nationalist circles.

Mikhnowsky himself was quite distraught over this situation, finding it necessary to leave the RUP, an organization in which he was most instrumental at one time as its founder and guiding ideologue. Yet, despite his premature and unforeseen exit from the leading ranks of the RUP movement, Mikhnowsky continued to remain active in Ukrainian political affairs. However, among most intellectual Ukrainian circles his ideas were considered obsolete and even dangerous. The overriding majority of Ukrainian activists feared antagonizing their Russian "big brother" and instead, following Drahomaniw's suggestions and occasional pleadings, opted for a path of struggle, which on every issue followed the lead of authoritative Russian socialist circles, who were increasingly coming

3. Michnovsky, M., *Samostiyna Ukraina*, (independent Ukraine) (New York: "Howerlya" Publishing, 1971).

to the forefront of Russian political life. In short, although political consciousness and activity were definitely on the rise in Ukraine following the turn of the century, the leading activists and protagonists of this ever-burgeoning national movement found it necessary to actually apologize to their Russian compatriots (sic.) precisely for their political activity! Ukrainian socialist political leaders would almost seek permission from their Russian counterparts prior to embarking on their own initiative.

Shrouded in this political apologeticism, the Ukrainian national movement was caught off-guard at the outbreak of the First World War. The question of organizing strictly Ukrainian military formations was categorically ruled out by all leading "socialist-progressive" parties in Ukraine, for fear that this would give the Russian regime a pretext for eliminating the intellectual elite in Ukraine. In point of fact, hardly anyone believed that this war would last for an extended period of time, since their utopian cosmopolitanism simply could not understand such a phenomenon, where aggression was the rule, rather than the exception. Nevertheless, in spite of this utopian emotional frenzy of most, if not all of the Ukrainian socialist groupings, there were a few more sober minded, far-sighted individuals who did realize the need to militarily organize the Ukrainian people. Mikhnowsky was one such individual. He called for the formation of a Ukrainian National Army, which would initiate a revolutionary struggle for Ukrainian independence and statehood. In his view, the war presented a golden opportunity for the Ukrainian liberation movement; directly as a result of the war, internal political conditions in the Russian Empire were quite strained and, hence, ripe for revolution. In 1915, in Western Ukraine, voluntary military regiments were organized under the name of the "Sichovi Striltsi". But, it was only near the end of the war, that these regiments had a considerable number of fighting units to constitute a viable military force.

At the time of the Russian Revolution in St. Petersburg in 1917, a group of moderately socialist Ukrainian political intellectuals, organized under the mantle of the *Society of Ukrainian Progressives* (Tovarystvo Ukraïns'kykh Postupovtsiv, TUP), managed to establish a nominal government in Kyiv — the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukraïns'ka Tsentral'na Rada, hereafter referred to as the "Rada"). However, due to the almost fanatical anti-militarist, socialist and cosmopolitan composition of the Rada, a clash of principles could no longer be forestalled with the more militarist-nationalist elements among Ukrainian political life. This clash took place at the First All-Ukrainian Congress held on April 18, 1917, and organized by the *Military Society in the name of Polubotok* (a former Ukrainian Kozak "hetman" or leader). This military society, characteristically enough, was under the leadership of M. Mikhnowsky. At this Congress, one of the leading spokesmen of the Rada, V. Vynnychenko, unfortunately

came forth in irrevocable opposition to the formation of any sort of Ukrainian military units.⁴ Hence, when the somewhat belated "Fourth Universal" was issued by the Rada on January 22, 1918, proclaiming an independent Ukrainian State, on the verge of one of the most bloody invasions in the history of mankind, namely, the occupation of Ukraine by the Bolshevik Red Army, there was no organized military force to defend this incipient, long-awaited freedom. Consequently, the first phase of the national renaissance of the Ukrainian nation ended in immediate failure.

Yet, the movement for national liberation continued to grow in intensity. Perhaps as a result of the socialist capitulation, nationalist sentiment gathered momentum in the 1920's, despite the extreme repression of Bolshevik and Polish occupational policies. From bitter experience, the major participants and leaders of this movement, under the ideological patrimony of the nationalist ideologue — Dmytro Dontzow,⁵ finally realized that a complete reformation of the movement's hierarchy of values and principles was absolutely necessary. And together with this political reformation, a restructuring of the strategies and tactics of the struggle was also a priority matter. It was in this incipient restructuring of the goals and methodology of struggle that the first signs of modern Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism appeared. Numerous conspiratorial, paramilitary and revolutionary nationalist organizations emerged throughout all of Ukraine in the 1920's. However, a centralized coordinating aegis was hard-felt and lacking at this time, so that the activities of all these isolated centres could have been geared toward one end with singlemindedness of purpose and unity of action. In fact, it was with this in mind that the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists was convened in 1929 in Vienna.

The Nationalist Reformation; the UVO-OUN epoch

The umbilical navel of the liberation struggle in the post-war period was in Western Ukraine, predominantly centred in the province of Halychyna, which was under Polish colonial occupational rule. This area in Ukraine traditionally had exhibited in the past a high level of national consciousness, but, a none-the-less significant factor was that the repressive policies of the Polish regime were less severe, at least in the initial stages, than those of the Bolsheviks in Central and Eastern Ukraine. There are a few isolated examples of nationalist-revolutionary activity in the lands occupied by the

⁴ For a full text of Vynnychenko's speech see Mlynovetsky, R., *Narysy z Istoriiy Ukrain's'kykh Vyzvol'nykh Zmahan'*, 1917-1918 (A Survey History of the Ukrainian Liberation, 1917-1918), I-II volume, (1970-1973), p. 503.

⁵ Sosnowsky, M., *Dmytro Dontzow; Politychnyj Portret* (Dmytro Dontzow; A political portrait), (New York: Trident International, Inc., 1974).

Bolsheviks, but none of these had any long-range consequences, since Stalin's NKVD soon managed to eliminate and stifle all organized political activity outside of the structure of the Communist Party. Nonetheless, there was a potent conspiratorial revolutionary movement in Ukraine in the latter part of the 1920's; The leading organization of this movement in Eastern Ukraine was the *Association for the Liberation of Ukraine* (Spilka Vyzvolenyia Ukrainy, SVU) and its counterpart youth branch, the *Ukrainian Youth Association* (Spilka Ukraïns'koi Molodi, SUM), under the titular leadership of Evhen Yefremov and Mykola Pavluszko respectfully. Both organizations clearly stood on a nationalist platform, they regarded as their primary goal to organize and mobilize cadres for the future revolutionary struggle. The SVU and the SUM were both organized on a system of tightly disciplined and conspiratorial cells ("pyatky" — five members in a cell), so that each member only knew about the other members in his cell. Hence, this would make it quite difficult to infiltrate the organizational structure of the SVU-SUM. Yet, soon enough the Bolshevik regime was able to uncover the leading members of both organizations. In 1930, in what has become known as the "trial of the 45", held in Kharkiv, the leaders of the SVU-SUM movement were sentenced to harsh, even life-long imprisonment. Most of those, that were sentenced were never to be heard from again. This trial signalled the start of a brutal and bloody campaign of repression of all quasi-nationalist activity in Bolshevik occupied Ukraine. Henceforth, most anti-Soviet, or anti-Russian activity was painstakingly effaced by the Soviet-Russian colonial gendarmerie, the NKVD.

Regardless of the setbacks in Eastern Ukraine, nationalist sentiment rapidly developed in Western Ukraine, acquiring a unique aura of dynamic vivacity in the early 1930's and then fully maturing into an all-out insurrectionary, revolutionary struggle in the 1940's. Perhaps the most significant of these incipient developments, a precursor of things to come, was the foundation of the *Ukrainian Military Organization* (Ukraïns'ka Viys'kova Orhanizatsiia, UVO) in 1920 under the leadership of col. Evhen Konovalets, the former commander-in-chief of the "Sichovi Stril'tsi". The organization was structured along highly conspiratorial, para-military lines. Its aim was to lead an underground struggle, utilizing methods of sabotage to the utmost. The UVO leadership was especially concerned with uniting within its ranks all the Ukrainian military personnel, since they believed that only people trained in military practice could be capable of carrying on the revolutionary struggle.

Throughout the 1920's the UVO was engaged in a series of sabotage and assassination activity, designed to undercut the mantle of legitimacy claimed by the Polish occupational regime in Western Ukraine, and to throw some fear into the minds of the colonial- administrative authorities. There was much deep resentment in Western Ukraine

toward the Poles, which was well utilized by the UVO leadership. Much of the revolutionary activity organized by the UVO was on a mass scale, although it was usually of a passive nature. Various boycotts, for instance, were initiated against certain specific administrative and/or economic policies and measures, which were intended to strengthen Polish rule. Great assemblies were organized, at which the entire assembled throng of people would openly denounce the Polish occupational regime and vow to never desist from actively fighting for Ukraine's independence. Such mass assemblies had enormous emotional appeal, mobilizational potential, and effectively established the UVO as the true authority of the Ukrainian people. The strategy of the leadership was to institute a policy of building a separate "state within a state", a "tactic of isolation" from everything Polish.

A major setback for the national liberation struggle in Ukraine was the recognition by the Council of Ambassadors in March of 1923, that Halychyna was officially a part of Poland proper. No longer did the Polish authorities in Western Ukraine have to worry about the international repercussions of any repressive policies, that they may institute in Ukraine. In reply, the UVO leadership found it necessary to step up and widen the scope of their sabotage and terrorist activity.

It was about at this time that the leadership of the UVO also felt the need for some form of political and ideological education and indoctrination of their active cadres. The indirect reason for this was that a segment of UVO's membership began pursuing a so-called "sovietophile" approach, e.g., orienting the struggle toward the USSR as the only realistic vehicle, by which Ukraine's "liberation" (sic.) may be achieved. These "sovietophiles" even began advocating the entire Bolshevik ideological baggage as the guiding political line of the UVO. Because of this internally dangerous situation in its own ranks, the UVO leadership decided on initiating a purge of its ranks so as to "cleanse" the movement of its "sovietophilist" tendencies. Also, a concentrated campaign of political-ideological education and training was instituted in the official UVO program.

Besides the UVO, there were a number of other Ukrainian nationalist groups and organizations, both in Western Ukraine under Polish occupation and outside of the borders in Austria and Czechoslovakia. Most of these organizations were of an ideological-educational character. Their membership was predominantly made up of youth and students. Although neither of these organizations was directly involved in any revolutionary activity per se, their ideology was revolutionary and completely nationalist in principle. For example, a guiding motto of one of these organizations, the *Group of Ukrainian National Youth* (Hrupa Ukraïns'koi Natsional'noi Molodi, HUNM), was the following: "One thought should enliven us, one desire unite us, one faith warm us, one will lead us, one goal give us

light, this being the good of the Ukrainian nation. On our national flags it should be written, — nay, not on our flags, but in our hearts, and not written, but scorched within by a fire of love: 'Saluis ukrainice natsionis suprema leks esto' — (the good of the Ukrainian nation should be our highest law)"⁶

With all the Nationalist groupings emerging in Western Ukraine and immediately outside of Ukraine's western borders, the need for a coordinating centre was becoming increasingly evident. However, the UVO, with its present highly conspiratorial structure, could not completely fulfil the needs of such a centre. Secondly, the UVO's emphasis on sabotage-terrorist activity and its concurrent lack of ideological sophistication and cohesiveness rendered the organization insufficient in the eyes of the other nationalist organizations as a perspective vehicle of solidarity. A new organizational alignment was necessary.

At this time, two symptomatic conceptions, as to the manner in this organizational restructuring was to be effected, were increasingly coming to the force. The first variant, which, for the purposes of this study, will be called — the "legalistic-opportunistic" approach, held that the nationalist camp ought to lead the bulk of its activity within the existing political state structure. The major exponent of the above conception was the *Ukrainian National-Democratic Alliance* (Ukrains'ke Natsional'no-Demokratychne Obyednanya, UNDO) under the leadership of a UVO renegade — Dmytro Paliiv. The UNDO's political line attempted to exploit the legal opportunities made available by the Polish constitution and system of law, by forming various quasi — legal parties, organizations, cooperatives and the like.

The second "revolutionary" conception of struggle, upheld by the UVO leadership, held, as a matter of principle, that only by organizing and mobilizing an insurrectionary struggle against the enemy in all phases of life can the goal of independence and statehood be achieved. The primary proponents of this revolutionary-strategical conception were convinced that any occupational-colonial regime institutes laws that are convenient only to their interests and no one else, hence, participating in a legal system so as to gain certain immediate benefits, only tends to uphold the legality of a completely illegitimate and inimically hostile regime.⁷

Despite this conceptual rift, the more militant politically active Ukrainian nationalists began preparing the way for the unification of all nationalist elements under one organizational umbrella. With this aim in mind, the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists was convened in Vienna, on February 1929. At this Congress the *Organization*

⁶) Mirchuk, P. *Narys Istoriyi OUN*, (A Survey History of the OUN), (Münich: The Ukrainian Publishers, Ltd., 1968), p. 66.

⁷) Ibid., pp. 11-74.

of *Ukrainian Nationalists* (OUN) was formally established. The organizational hierarchy, that was constructed at this Congress, called into existence a "Provid Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv — PUN" (Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists), with Evhen Konovalets being recognized as the head ("Providnyk" — leader) of all nationalist elements organized in the OUN. Furthermore, in perhaps the most significant programmatic resolution adopted at this Congress, the conception of a revolutionary struggle was accepted as the guiding strategical imperative, thereby rejecting any quasi-legalistic and opportunistic approaches or variants.⁸ Also, the UVO was officially conjoined with the OUN, as the latter's combative wing.

An Epoch of Maturation; the OUN in the 1930's

The Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary struggle in the 1930's, under the dynamic aegis of the OUN, reached a level of maturation, which finally established the movement for Ukrainian independence as a viable as well as dangerous political entity on the map of Eastern Europe. OUN cells were present and active in almost every city or township of Western Ukraine.⁹ The official publication of the Organization, *Rozbudova Natsii* (The Building of a Nation), was openly read in the streets of the major cities, despite its ebulliently subversive character.

Initially, the primary thrust of OUN's revolutionary activity was the dissemination of an entire spectrum of propaganda, internally within its own ranks, as well as externally amidst the general populace. The major reasoning behind this intensified propaganda campaign was, firstly, to establish the OUN as the real political authority of the Ukrainian people, and, secondly, to create the necessary atmosphere for future directly revolutionary activity. Indeed, in a short time, the OUN organized a series of massive and individual acts of sabotage and outright revolt, in coalescence with this propagandistic outpour, so as to produce the illusion of widespread brazen opposition to Polish rule in Ukraine. This brazen audacity was enough to convince the more sceptical elements among the general Ukrainian populace, that opposition was not only possible but, more importantly, that it was indeed warranted as a right of a subjugated people.

In reply to this intensified activity, the Polish regime, especially its secret police organs in Western Ukraine, initiated a "pacification campaign", designed to weed out the active nationalist elements in the cities and villages. But, since OUN cells were well hidden, the

⁸) For a full text of the resolutions of the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists see *OUN v Dokumentakh* (Documents of the OUN), (Munich: The OUN, 1955).

⁹) Mirchuk, *op cit.*, p. 231.

police simply sought out countless victims, hoping, that among these would be included the more militant and leading activists. Yet, this terror created results, that were completely unforeseen and undesired, since the masses were now spurred to further action, almost to the point of emotional frenzy, seeking revenge for the torture and death inflicted on their relatives and friends. The OUN, as can be expected, did not simply play a passive role in mobilizing the masses against the occupational forces. Indeed, OUN cadres were to be found in the forefront of this mass insurrectionary and protest activity.

However, along with this rising wave of emotional dynamism, which carried the movement along, there were some heavy costs which the OUN had to pay, as can well be expected in any revolutionary struggle. In 1934, after the highly publicized successful assassination of the Polish minister of internal affairs, Pieracki, who was directly responsible for the increasingly brutal "pacification campaign", the greater portion of the OUN Regional Leadership (the "Krayovyj Provid", in distinction to the main "Provid" situated in Austria — the PUN), including its head, Stepan Bandera, was arrested. The arrests were directly the result of the enigmatic carelessness of one of the members of the PUN in Austria, Senyk, who was alone responsible for the predominant portion of the OUN archives, which, after a series of highly dubious occurrences, happened to find their way to the Polish secret police, in a roundabout manner, via the Czech police.¹⁰ Subsequently, the Regional "provid" in Ukraine, or what little was left of it, decided on instituting a general purge of its membership, so that similar events would not re-occur in the future. Greater emphasis was now placed on the quality of cadres, rather than on their optimal quantity. Under such circumstances, the OUN was predicated into taking a tactical retreat, toning down its external revolutionary activity, and paying more attention to the ideological, political, and revolutionary indoctrination and training of its cadres.

Although the OUN was predominantly concentrated in Western Ukraine, which was under Polish occupation, information of its activity and the positions on which it stood managed to filter through to the portions of Ukraine under Bolshevik occupation. In due time, a number of OUN cells were organized in Central and Eastern Ukraine, much to the chagrin of the Soviet-Russian authorities, who saw in the OUN a grave threat to stability in that area. Hence, Moscow decided on taking some preventive measures so as to terminate this burgeoning national consciousness. On May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, a Bolshevik agent successfully carried out an assassination on the leader of the OUN, Col. Evhen Konovalets. The prevailing thought among Soviet-Russian leading circles was, seemingly, that by eliminating an individual, whose name and factual authority had

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

acquired enough symbolic meaning to personify the movement in total, the internal, unitary strength and the revolutionary potency of the Organization would be considerably diminished.

However, this assassination had, to a considerable degree, a directly opposite effect. The OUN movement had enough latent strength, that it no longer needed to depend on certain individuals for its own internal self-fortification. Individuals did not create the great legend of the OUN; this legend lay in the revolutionary strength of those three letters: O U N. Konovalets' assassination only added to this legendary strength. Perhaps the best attestation, even proof of this is that on the eve of the Second World War practically every aspect of life in Western Ukraine was embraced by active OUN cells and its sympathisers.

As the war was about to break out, the Czecho-Slovak republic was simply liquidated by the force of the Nazi onslaught. At this time, the Ukrainian inhabitants of the Carpathian region, formerly a vassal-territory of the fallen republic, decided to proclaim their independence, on the direction of the OUN, by establishing an Independent Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic on March 15, 1939. On the orders of the Regional OUN "provid", OUN military units were immediately dispensed to defend the young republic.¹¹ In the meantime, Hitler had decided on concluding an alliance with a chauvinistically-inclined, fascist government in Hungary and concurrently acceded to the subsequent Hungarian invasion of the Carpatho-Ukrainian region. The events, that subsequently evolved in this region as a direct result of this Hungarian invasion have a direct bearing on our subject matter, since it was on this backdrop of events, that the first signs of a rift between the PUN and the Regional "provid" in Western Ukraine were explicitly manifested.

After the death of Konovalets, the main 'provid' was taken over by Col. Andrij Melnyk, who had been a close friend of the former OUN leader. Melnyk initiated a series of talks with officials of the Nazi government in Germany, seeking Germany's aid in Ukraine's liberation struggle. The Regional "provid" was totally against such a position. The immediate issue of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic brought this rift in position to the forefront, since by aiding the incipient republic in its battle with the invading Hungarian forces, the OUN was not only endangering any perspective alliance with the Nazis, but also provoking them to retaliation. So as to forestall the rift with the Regional "provid", Melnyk nominally acquiesced to aid the OUN cadres in Ukraine, who were defending the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic. But, after a series of what were termed "tactical errors" by Baranowsky, the military units organized by the Regional "provid"

¹¹) *Ibid.*, pp. 543-565.

and dispatched to the Carpathian region were rendered useless, because a shipment of arms and supplies, acquired by the PUN from former Czech army officials, was late in arriving.¹² As a result, several leading members of the OUN Regional "provid", most notably Zenon Kossak, who was its military advisor and attaché as well as one of the most respected individuals in the OUN, were killed in combat with the invading Hungarian troops, simply because of lack of supplies.¹³ Ostensible reasons were, of course, given for the late arrival of arms, but none of these was sufficiently acceptable to assuage the emotional loss, experienced by the OUN membership in Ukraine for their fallen brethren and comrades.

The Second World War; a rift in the OUN

Almost at the very outset of the war, all ethnographically Ukrainian territory, excluding that of the Carpathian region, was taken over by invading Soviet-Russian troops, the result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Furthermore, all legal Ukrainian parties were immediately liquidated, thereby leaving the OUN as the solitary force capable of furthering the national movement for Ukraine's independence. Perhaps the only positive factor resulting from these initial chaotic events of the war was that the formerly imprisoned members of the Regional "provid" of the OUN, with Bandera at the head, were now released from Polish concentration camps. Also a considerable number of OUN members, who had previously emigrated, presently returned to their native lands, thereby even further strengthening the Organization's revolutionary cadres.

The centre of OUN's activity shifted to the more wooded area of Ukraine, known as "Volyn", from where it would be more feasible to carry on guerilla activity. Also, since there no longer existed a boundary separating Bolshevik and Polish occupied Ukrainian lands, the contacts with Eastern Ukraine were solidified. However, certain differences in political outlook emerged between the two regions of Ukraine, to the point that the Regional "provid" regarded the matter of resolving these differences as a high priority issue, so that a common revolutionary front could be expeditiously established.

In the meantime, the relation of the PUN to the Regional "provid" was becoming increasingly tenuous, especially after Bandera's¹⁴ release

¹²) *Ibid.*, p. 554.

¹³) See Malashchuk, Roman, Kossak, *Okhrymovych, Turash* (Toronto: The League of the Liberation of Ukraine, 1968).

¹⁴) Mirchuk, Petro, *Stepan Bandera — Symvol Revoliutsijnoyi Bezkompromisovosty* (Stepan Bandera — A Symbol of Revolutionary uncompromisingness), (New York: The Organization of the Defence of the the Four Freedoms of Ukraine, 1961), pp. 67-77.

from prison. The basic issues concerned principles of strategy; the essential difference between the two leaderships was a principled difference in the manner in which the primary "conception" of struggle was to be formulated. As was stated above, it is this central "conception", that determines the form and content of the concomitant struggle, was to be formulated. As was stated above, it is this central "conception", that determines the form and content of the concomitant struggle. Furthermore, it would be worthwhile to remind ourselves at this juncture, that we are dealing with a revolutionary movement, a revolutionary struggle, hence, the "conception" of struggle must be initially revolutionary in its nature and consequences, in order for the ensuing struggle, determined by this "conception", also to be revolutionary.

The basic assertion of the Melnyk-led PUN, which caused such vehement opposition from the Regional OUN "provid", was that Ukraine's liberation struggle must align itself with the Nazi-German war aims, if it had any chance of being successful. This, of course, involved convincing the Germans as to the feasibility and the benefits to be accrued, from a Nazi point of view, by supporting the Ukrainian liberation struggle. A secondary motive, according to Melnyk and his cohorts, was their contention that the OUN movement was by no means powerful enough to oppose both the Polish and Russian (not even taking into account the Hungarians and Rumanians) colonial regimes without any external military aid; on the other hand, the OUN could not risk antagonizing the superior Nazi war machine, thereby further complicating Ukraine's already grave situation.

All of this was resolutely counterposed, on the grounds of revolutionary principles, by the Bandera-led Regional "provid", which, it felt, was better capable of assessing the OUN's strength, being that the Regional "provid" was directly involved in the struggle from a concrete leadership position, rather than being isolated in exile and simply limited to the role of a passionate observer, as the Melnyk-led PUN. But regardless of OUN's strength, or lack of it, Bandera argued, that revolutionary ethics demanded reliance on one's own inherent strength, which can always and in every possible situation be exactly calculated, and which, more importantly, will never betray the cause. The same, obviously, cannot be said of any intrinsically foreign power, which will always act only as dictated by expediency, or conveniency. The Regional "provid" argued, that Ukraine's national liberation cannot be limited to matters of expediency and conveniency. Bandera, quite simply, felt, that it would be ridiculous to label oneself a "revolutionary" and then equate the entire "revolutionary" struggle to a strategy, which essentially calls for convincing the Nazis of the potential benefits to be gained by aiding the liberation struggle. A revolutionary strategy

calls for a somewhat higher level of sophistication from its leaders.

As a result of this rift, which again was essentially a rift in principles, a Conference of the Regional OUN membership, held on November 11, 1940, called into existence a Provisional Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN, with Stepan Bandera at the head. This Revolutionary "provid" was to remain in being until a general congress could be convened, which was a task in itself considering the circumstances. The Second Congress of the OUN took place in March, 1941 with 68 delegates taking an active part in the deliberations, including 16 delegates from the eastern territories of Ukraine. At this congress, Stepan Bandera was formally instituted as the head of all OUN formations.¹⁵

Even as the Second OUN Congress was taking place, it was becoming increasingly discernible, that a military confrontation between Hitler's Germany and the Soviet Union was near. The political strain of this essential imperialistic rencontre between Nazism and Bolshevism and the subsequent tension of war nervousness were intensifying to the point of an accerbated aggravation. Conversely, the political situation within Ukraine was, likewise, in a constant, dynamic state of flux, which required the implementation of a new set of strategic contingencies by the OUN "provid". From its underground revolutionary matrix in the heavily-wooded Volyn region, the OUN began intensifying its partisan, insurrectionary preparation, concurrently being acutely aware of the danger involved in exposing OUN's weaknesses by initiating any sort of military or guerilla activity before the time was ripe. The first military partisan batalions were formed in Volyn alongside the important propaganda and agitation brigades, the so-called "pokhidni hrupy" (literally translated as the "marching groups"), whose special task it was to infiltrate into Eastern Ukraine and prepare new revolutionary cadres for the OUN in those territories.

By mid 1941, the Nazis initiated an offensive towards the east and had taken over much of the territory of Western Ukraine. By this time it had also become quite evident, that the German invaders did not intend rule over their newly-acquired lands with an air of benign benevolence. In short, Ukrainian independence and statehood simply did not fit into the projected Nazi policy of "Lebensraum", in spite of the behind-the-doors manipulations of the Melnyk-led PUN. The revolutionary OUN "provid" decided to take resolute preventive action, in reply to any imperialistic Nazi war aims. The decision called for the proclamation of Ukrainian independence and statehood in Lviv, thereby presenting the Germans, as well as all the belligerent powers, with a historically- irreversible fait accompli. On June 22, 1941, on the initiative of the revolutionary OUN leadership, a con-

¹⁵) For an abridged text of the adopted resolutions of this Congress see *OUN v Dokumentakh*, op. cit., p. 24.

ference of diverse Ukrainian political colligations was held in Cracow, with the explicit intention of discussing Ukraine's future relations with Nazi Germany, and more directly, to contemplate and decide on the possibility of establishing an independent Ukrainian State in the very near future. In a marginally related matter, the Melnyk-led PUN did not participate in the deliberations of this National Convention, although they were invited. By inviting Melnyk to this Convention, Bandera hoped to establish a reconciliation between the revolutionary "provid" and the now estranged PUN, especially since there could no longer be any talk of seeking an alliance with the Nazi, much less regarding Hitler's Germany as the primary vehicle in Ukraine's struggle for independence.

Despite all this uncommensurate internal strife, a great people's congress took place in Lviv on June 30, 1941, at which the "Act of the Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood" was ceremoniously proclaimed. A Provisional Government, with Yaroslav Stetsko (a leading member of the revolutionary "provid") as Premier, was also established. Every major Ukrainian political group, excluding the PUN, was represented in this Provisional Government, primarily as a symbolic gesture, that all of Ukraine was united in the struggle to achieve independence. The "Act" itself had great propagandistic, moral, and political significance, since it became a most potent mobilizational tool, a moral reminder to the Ukrainian people of their responsibility in the national-liberation struggle. But, more importantly, this "Act" manifestly declared to the entire world the uncompromising determination of the Ukrainian nation to achieve national statehood and sovereignty.¹⁶

One of the major factors, that the OUN leadership was counting on, when it decided to proclaim Ukraine's independence, was the element of surprise. Their calculations were well founded, since the "Act" caught the German occupational authorities in Ukraine completely off-guard. The intention of the OUN leadership was to force an issue, to confront the Nazis directly on a matter most dear to every Ukrainian, i.e., just how willing was Hitler to support the OUN and the Ukrainian people in their quest for independence. The longer this reply would have been postponed, the more dangerous the consequences for Ukraine's future. In the initial period following this proclamation, the Nazis were not quite sure as to the manner in which policy should be formulated vis-a-vis Ukraine, and, hence, as a result of this dissarray, the Provisional Government of Mr. Stetsko was even allowed to function in a quasi-independent manner. However, the Germans quickly realized, that they could not afford to ignore this political anathema, from their point of view, for an extended period of time. Once they came to their senses, the Nazis

¹⁶) For an in-depth account of the history and the subsequent significance of this "Act", see Stetsko, Jaroslav, 30 chervnya 1941 (June 30th, 1941), (London: Ukrainian Publishers, Ltd., 1967.

were merciless in putting a harsh and bitter end to this sweet, but short-lived experiment of independence. Nonetheless, the damage had already been done. Numerous guerilla conclaves were now being organized throughout most of Western Ukraine, spurned and mobilized into action precisely because of this proclamation. An underground, partisan struggle was begun, which continuously played havoc with the occupational German forces, and then later with the invading Red Army.

As a direct result of this, the OUN was able to widen its scope of organizational and insurrectionary activity. The majority of the partisan, guerilla batalions, that were formed at this time, were organized on the OUN's initiative. But a considerable number of these batalions were self-organized by the villagers themselves, hence, the essential task of the revolutionary "provid" was to coordinate the activity of these highly-mobilized, but scattered groups, so that singlemindedness of purpose, so essential in any military campaign, be maintained. With this in mind, on the initiative of the revolutionary OUN leadership, the *Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiya, UPA) was created, with the first UPA divisions being officially formed in December, 1942 in the Polissya region of Ukraine (a heavily wooded area of northern Ukraine). A leading figure in the liberation movement and a member of the revolutionary "provid", Roman Shukhevych (pseudonym — Taras Chuprynka) was instated as the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA. Perhaps the best analysis and evaluation of UPA's effectiveness and real significance was given by a renowned political scientist-historian, John Armstrong, who stated: "If one takes into account duration, geographical extent, and intensity of activity, the UPA very probably is the most important example of forceful resistance to Communist rule".¹⁷ A true attestment of the UPA's significance cannot be assessed in terms of battles won or lives lost; instead, the very fact that clandestine revolutionary, guerilla activity, under the sponsorship of the UPA and the political aegis of the OUN, lasted for a protracted period of ten years, well into the 1950's, is an attestment in itself of the immeasurable potential of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle.¹⁸ As Professor Armstrong most appropriately stated in his unparalleled study:

"It is impossible to provide a complete analysis of the factors which made protracted resistance by the UPA possible. In summary, however, they appear to be the following: (1) favourable terrain — relatively impenetrable

¹⁷ Armstrong, John, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 300.

¹⁸ For a detailed analysis and history of the UPA, see Tys-Khrokhmaluk, *UPA Warfare in Ukraine*, (New York: Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1972) and Mirchuk, Petro, *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiya* (The Ukrainian Insurgent Army), (Munich: 1953).

to large bodies of troops, yet close to sources of food; (2) nearly unanimous support of the rural population; (3) a fairly large nationality group... as a supporting base; (4) a very powerful — indeed fanatic — nationalist ideology; (5) a highly integrated, authoritarian structure; (6) a considerable period of preparation under favourable conditions; (7) a moderate degree of arms supply at the outset".¹⁹

The war brought about an altered set of political exigencies, which in turn necessitated an alteration in the OUN's formulation of strategy. The revolutionary "provid" decided to convene a Third Extraordinary Congress, which was held on 21-25 of August, 1943. Most of the time of the congressional sessions was taken up in the elaboration of a revolutionary strategy most appropriate to carrying on a military guerilla campaign against two imperialist mega-powers — the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. However, this Congress was convened in the wake of the return of the first propaganda brigades from Eastern Ukraine, where the social and economic question was a more significant, even emotional issue than in the western provinces. Hence, a comprehensive set of resolutions dealing with socio-economic issues was also adopted. The principle criterion guiding the delegates in regard to this highly polemical issue was its function as a potential weapon against the Bolshevik, usurpative, colonial economic and social system. In one section from the programmatic resolutions of the Congress, most typical of the prevailing attitude on the subject of socio-economic relations, we read the following:

"In the ranks of the OUN, Ukrainian workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia together are fighting against the oppressors — for a Ukrainian Independent and Sovereign State, for national and social liberation, for a new international state system as well as a new social order.

i.e. for the destruction of the Bolshevik and German slave system of organizing agricultural administration in Ukraine. In regarding the land as the property of the people as such, the (future, R. Z.) authorities of the Ukrainian State will not force upon the peasants one solitary form of utilizing this land. Hence, in the Ukrainian State, individual as well as collective ownership of the land, as is the will of the peasants themselves, will be permitted..."²⁰

As the war escalated, various fighting units were created by the other subjugated peoples in the USSR, many of which actively aligned themselves with the guerilla-military campaign led by the OUN-UPA. As the liberation struggles of the other subjugated nations, although yet in their incipient stages, augmented and acquired a more dynamic character, the need to organize this novel but essential revolutionary potential under a coordinated leadership was becoming increasingly evident. Therefore, on the initiative of the UPA, the First Conference of Subjugated Peoples took place on November 21-22,

¹⁹) Armstrong, *op cit.*, p. 301.

²⁰) OUN, *op cit.*, p. 90.

1943. This Conference was attended by 39 delegates from 13 different subjugated nations. The self-acclaimed task of the Conference was to establish a unitary and common front of subjugated peoples, and, subsequently, a *Revolutionary Committee of Subjugated Peoples* was created. Later emerging from this foundation and under the unofficial auspices of the OUN, the *Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations* (ABN) was formed.²¹

The UPA was able to capitalize on its political and military position as the war entered its final stages. Informally, the UPA was recognized throughout all of Ukraine as an all-national army. Hence, amidst leading circles in the revolutionary-guerilla movement, the matter of establishing an all-national coordinating, para-governmental organ, over and above that of the OUN "provid", but nevertheless informally under the OUN's revolutionary and political aegis, was quickly recognized. On June 15, 1944, on the initiative of the UPA General Command, an all-Ukrainian assembly of representatives of various active political organizations was held. The principal criterion for participating in this assembly was the recognition of a revolutionary conception of struggle. Consequently, a revolutionary government of sorts was established: the *Ukrainian Central Liberation Council* (Ukrains'ka Holovna Vyzvol'na Rada, UHVR). In a separate "Proclamation" issued by the General Secretariat of the UHVR, the basic tasks of this revolutionary, para-governmental organ were clearly elucidated: "the UHVR is the highest and the only central organ of the Ukrainian people during their revolutionary struggle and until the formation of a government of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State".²² The significance of the UHVR is that other political Ukrainian groupings, heretofore non-revolutionary in their disposition and program, presently accepted OUN's revolutionary platform as their own; hence, the scope of the revolutionary movement was even further widened and strengthened.

By the summer of 1943, it was becoming increasingly apparent, that Germany was on the verge of defeat, and that the final outcome was only a matter of time. All the vast and glorious Nazi conquests in the East were, almost mechanically, falling into Soviet-Russian hands. By 1944, Russia, for all practical purposes, controlled Ukraine almost in entirety. But nowhere was there even a semblance of sympathy for the invading Red Army forces. In point of fact, Ukrainian partisan resistance actually increased at the time of the Russian communist offensive. This is a relatively significant fact, especially when we remind ourselves, that some of these areas (in the West) had not yet experienced "Soviet" rule and were open to the utopian

²¹ *ABN v Documentakh* (The Documents of the ABN), (Munich: The Publication of the OUN, 1956).

²² *UHVR v Dokumentakh* (The Documents of the UHVR), (Munich: The Publication of the OUN, 1956).

lure of socialism, especially after their short, but not easily forgotten exposition to the hostility of the Nazi oppression.

After Moscow managed to "re-unite" Ukraine with the rest of the USSR bloc, a strong and concerted effort was made by the Kremlin to destroy all vestiges of Ukrainian nationalism. Both factions of the OUN were condemned as "fascists". The existing cooperation between the peasants and the Ukrainian intelligentsia had to be liquidated, since the intellectuals had clearly become the primary propagators of destructive "bourgeois nationalist" sentiment in the villages. The ideology of the OUN had inculcated within the peasant class, traditionally the key sociological base of communist power, to such an emotional and idealistic frenzy, that the peasantry had, in fact, become the primary sociological base of the nationalist resistance movement in Ukraine. Henceforth, in order to regiment the peasant masses, the Russian colonial regime in Ukraine instituted a policy of strict economic centralism, reminiscent of the early 1930's.

With the final occlusion of the Iron Curtain, most of the traditional channels of information from Ukraine and the Soviet bloc were cut off. Yet, although most of the fighting on the international level terminated by 1945, the OUN-UPA forces continued to foment continuous armed and passive resistance to Soviet-Russian rule in Ukraine. The formation of the UHVR provided a "supra-party" political organization, which served as a legitimate political counter-base to the illegitimacy of communist-imperialist rule. The UPA tried to avoid any direct confrontations with the Red Army militia units operating in Ukraine, since they were convinced, that their principal antagonist would be the Soviet-Russian secret police apparatus — the NKVD-MVD-KGB. A vast propaganda network was constructed by the OUN-UPA leadership in Ukraine. The peasants provided much invaluable aid for the insurgents in the form of information and concealment from Bolshevik forces. However, most partisan and guerilla activity was brought under control by the occupational regime after the death in battle of Gen. Roman Shukhevych in 1950.

Reports still filter through to this day of armed, albeit scattered partisan or sabotage activity, but due to the obviously conspiratorial nature of this evidence, no conclusive material can be presented here. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt, that nationalism is definitely not simply an ideal of the past, and, furthermore, that this nationalist sentiment, or even the current rise in national consciousness in Ukraine, is directly attributable to the revolutionary and uncompromising struggle of the OUN. If ever there was a group, which was prepared to fight against all odds in a seemingly hopeless situation, it was the OUN. It dared revolution!

(To be continued)

NEWS AND DOCUMENTS FROM UKRAINE

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL SENTENCED
AGAIN

Vyacheslav Chornovil, a journalist and prominent campaigner for Ukraine's national and human rights has been sentenced to a further five-year prison term just after the completion of a previous eight-year term for "anti-Soviet propaganda".



Chornovil came to prominence in the West after his reports documenting protests and legal violations during trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965 and 1966 were published here. The reports were published under the title *The Chornovil Papers* and Vyacheslav Chornovil was awarded the Nicholas Tomalin Award for investigative journalism in 1975. Chornovil was arrested whilst still serving his internal "exile" in the Yakut Soviet Socialist Republic. Since the arrest on April 15, Chornovil has been on hunger strike and was reported to be close to death. His wife described him as looking "like a skeleton" and "extremely weak".

Chornovil was arrested on a rape charge. The KGB are increasingly using the tactic of accusing political activists of trumped-up criminal charges so as to mask the political nature of their persecution.

Chornovil was first arrested in November 1967 and convicted of "anti-Soviet propaganda", receiving an 18-month term.

After his release Vyacheslav Chornovil played an active part in the Ukrainian national rights movement, mainly defending other activists. He was rearrested in January, 1972 and sentenced to eight years imprisonment. During this time he is known to have frequently been punished for taking part in protest actions.

Chornovil has been a member of the Ukrainian Public Group Monitoring the Helsinki Accords since May, 1979.

THE TESTAMNET OF CHRIST

(Letter to a Friend)

Some new journalistic and literary works written by the recently-imprisoned writer Oles Berdnyk have been smuggled to the West from the USSR.

These works have been widely disseminated in Ukraine through the clandestine "samvydav" (self-publishing) system. In the last issue of the Ukrainian Review we published another of Oles Berdnyk's works, Ukraine's Crown of Thorns, which has received much acclaim.

The essay below deals with the very personal level on which Oles Berdnyk experiences his belief in Christ.

I dreamt of you last night. Let me tell you about my wonderful dream...

Dear Friend!

There was a mirror in front of me. I looked into it and saw your reflection and not mine. As I came nearer the mirror your image also came nearer according to the laws of reflection. Suddenly, when I was almost side by side with your image which stared into my eyes, you turned away not wishing to look into mine. I approached the mirror in the same way several times, with the same result...

Looking round, I saw you lying next to me on the bed, asleep...

I woke up and understood the profound meaning of my dream: all people are part of the same essence. They are merely reflections of a *single* phenomenon. In the realm of dreams and the world of the spirit this is clear. However, when you want to feel this more immediately, eye to eye, the reflected particles of an *individual soul* refuse to make union. They do not desire it and turn away their spiritual gaze.

That's how it happened, remember? I felt I was you. We thought the same thoughts, had the same aspirations, the same spiritual intention. However, life made its corrections and your image "reflected" in the mirror of everyday life turned away its gaze and seemed to fall asleep, at any rate as far as I was concerned. But why do you beat about the bush? Why don't you want to look into my eyes and feel the power of union?!

Our dreams serve a purpose. Through them God reveals to us the secret commandments of the soul. I realised that the time of union had come and that I had to wake you from sleep and myself at the same time. For we are the same person!

Where are the foundations of union? What are its criteria? Abstract knowledge? Philosophical insight? Occult or yogic attainment?

None of these phenomenal or even noumenal spiritual attainments can form the foundations of union. They should be unconditional! Do people possess such foundations, and do we ourselves?

Yes! In Christ!

Do you remember how often we have turned to this Name?! Wherever our thoughts may have led us, whatever our dreams, however distant our emotional and spiritual gaze, we always returned to the Image of Christ. He was a lighthouse, a guiding star, an example, a spiritual standard, life-giving nectar to our hearts and a catalyst to our thoughts.

And at this uneasy time, when I dream of you asleep, when my spirit summons me to act, I want to unite with You, with my own self in the name and image of Christ.

That is why I am writing this letter. I will mention every thought that touched on this, the doubts we had, what shone before us in unconditional beauty, everything that was universal and utterly divine in the beautiful figure of Christ, who alone can wake us and lead us across the chasm of non-existence to our home, the Home of the Mother and Father of reality.

This letter then contains my thoughts about the Teacher of the Heart, the Fiery Leader, the Soul of Man, the Heart of Infinity. You are me and I am you, therefore you can pass this letter to anyone who has discarded the mantle of illusion and *wants* to wake from sleep!

Are people today, perverted by the miracles of civilisation and promises of heaven on earth, capable of union in the Name of Christ?

Indeed, for two thousand years the world has known the Teacher of the New Testament, repeated His Words, paid reverence to Him, built temples in His Name and prayed to Him. However, at the same time in His Name for centuries the fires of the Inquisition have burnt, devouring those who fought for Truth. In his Name the armies of various states went to war, drowning millions of human beings in blood, destroying cities, the cradle and creations of human genius.

This contradiction should be removed to put the figure of Christ beyond all question or doubt. Not blind faith but a clear understanding of and joyful trust in the Teacher who alone can unravel the intricate knot of his spiritual being.

Should we wait for enlightenment? Should we look for secret manuscripts in the Himalayas or Egypt? Or should we refer to the theologians for a definition of the essence of Christ spun by a cunning web of philosophical logic?

I think the answer is nearer to us than near. It is in our hearts . . .

Many believers and preachers expecting the advent of Christ at one time or another, carefully prepared for this cosmic moment, however, every date set by human calculation has passed, and Christ has not appeared in miraculous form. A new wave of discouragement washed in human hearts enveloping them in indifference or turning them into animals.

There was never a lack of fanatics and aggressive believers in Christ, there were also multitudes of those who boldly sacrificed their lives or suffered torture awaiting the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, these astonishing sacrifices did not change the world and a bloody river flowed in peoples' hearts while generations tired with waiting went to their graves.

And the clergymen learnedly repeated: "No one knows the day of advent, only God the Father can say".

And the rebelling spirit justifiably asks: "Why is he so cruelly and pitilessly postponing the day? Don't the mountains of corpses cry out to the heavens? Haven't enough rivers of blood flowed into the ocean, filling it with testimonies of suffering and torture? Aren't there enough crosses blackening the earth under the silent gaze of the sky? You might expect, the human heart to start, God's heart apart! Perhaps He doesn't exist? And if God doesn't exist then neither does His Son, Christ!? As for us, are we merely sacrifices of a historico-spiritual fiction, imposed on us by the priests of long ago?!

It is useless to look for an answer in this or that book. Books merely mark the thoughts of people who have passed before us. And however convincing the logic of the thoughts set out in books, if they do not set our hearts alight, if our hearts cannot burst into flame, faith will not come to shine in the searching spirit.

But what is *faith*? Surely it is more than a sensation which does not need reinforcement? It would then be a ridiculous superstition. Faith gives birth to *Faithfulness*. Faithfulness demands the highest proof: to sense the highest, indestructible reality of the *one* we believe in.

Faith then is the highest Knowledge, Knowledge of the Heart. Thus we conclude that Faith is the result of lived experience. If *true faith* enflames the heart a person no longer sleeps but walks beside the one whom he believes in, Christ. A person who has woken up in this way can wake others.

How was Christ's life actually made manifest? Whom did he appear to? When? True, millions of people simply laugh when they hear His Name . . .

Let me tell you, my friend, about my meetings with the Teacher of the Heart, which were much more real than the phenomena of the world about us whose existence no one doubts . . .

There are marvellous tales and myths about the ancient gods: Zeus, Brahma, Chronos and others. These deities dominated the thoughts and lives of millions of people for many ages. But who waits for the advent of Zeus or Brahma? Who has dreamt of meeting them? Who believes that they will help us to achieve a new happy existence?

In these mythological apologies the gods were always tyrants, rulers and dictators who brought fear and not love to human hearts.

Then the Christian era began. The thrones of the ancient gods tottered and fell. Amid the ruins of heavenly cults the image of the

Son of Man shone forth, alive, close to man and akin to him.

The world shuddered. The heart of mankind felt the breath of mystery. People began to believe in the imminent arrival of Christ and fervently awaited Him.

The waiting never seems to end . . . Yet no one is indifferent to the Figure of Christ. He is either deified or hated! He has not become a literary myth but is a dominant force in the bustle of life. Most people may well regard Him as a petrified idol or spiritual axis about which a dogmatic theological machine turns; but for those who see and who have been spiritually awakened Christ is a Fiery Hero who walks the stoney path of our rough Earth. From the drops of His blood the finest flowers of human life blossom.

Let me mention several episodes in my life which brought home to my soul the profound reality of the Divine Teacher's Existence . . .

My friend!

As is true of most of our contemporaries we were born and grew up in an age of legalised atheism. Instead of prayer we heard tirade after tirade against God, idols, Christ, the Virgin Mary and all the saints. Crosses fell from bell towers thudding against the ground. Practicing Christians and priests were transported to the Solovky Islands and Siberia, into the dense taiga beyond the Arctic Circle.

At the age of five I witnessed a strange, horrific mystery. It happened shortly before Easter Sunday. At the time our family lived in a small village in Kyivschyna. The kolhosps* had not arrived yet, people worked in "communes". District "militant atheists" arrived, assembled the commune builders and ordered them to prepare an atheistic play. The commune builders put on animal masks, turned their woollen jackets inside-out and wore devils horns on their heads. Then they went off to church, where Mass was being celebrated. Dressed in this grotesque fashion the commune workers walked round the church howling "Down with the rabbis, monks and priests!"

The ageing priest, a grey-haired old man surrounded by a few old women declared in a trembling voice the truth which my infant mind did not understand: Christ is risen from the dead, conquering death through death, and giving life to those who were in the grave!

Something strange and uncanny entered my soul. The group of people by the altar amid flickering candlelight, the satanic circle shrieking and spitting, cursing and threatening the faithful gathering around the Image of Christ, all of this left me with a sense of the mysterious profundity of what had taken place there . . .

Later at the age of six the terrible famine struck Ukraine. I learnt of this terrible event not by hearsay nor from newspapers or books. I was a witness to and involved in the national disaster.

Roads, towns and houses were filled with corpses. Occasionally a cart would appear, indifferent people piled the corpses onto it and

* Collective farms.

took them away to the graveyard. There the cart was emptied, the corpses rolled into a communal pit while wild dogs pounced on the prey fiercely baring their teeth.

I could barely walk myself. My mother and I went to visit a relative. No one answered the door. The house was empty. The dead body of a woman lay by the fire. My mother began to weep, called out for help and began to do something herself. I caught sight of a book on the window-sill, the wind leafed through its pages. The pages were split in two by a dividing line: on the left-hand side there was an incomprehensible text, on the right a Russian text with "yati" and hard signs. I could still read it, an alarming story from some distant incomprehensible mysterious world:

"... they have taken my Lord away, and I do not know where they have put Him".

Having said this she turned round and saw Jesus standing there; but she did not recognise Him.

Jesus said to her: "Woman! Why do you weep? Whom do you seek?"

Thinking it was the gardener she said to Him: "Sir, if you took Him away, tell me where you placed Him so that I can take Him away".

Jesus said: "Mary!" Turning round she said to Him — "Rabbi!" Which means Teacher...

A vivid picture flashed through my infant mind: Mary weeping, the Teacher bathed in heavenly light, who with a single word freed her from the grip of misunderstanding, and her joyous cry: Rabbi!

The word "Rabbi", a polite form of Teacher made a strange impression on me as a child and since then the reality of the discovery which I made on that terrible day of suffering and death has never left me.

The years passed. We were all brought up as atheists, and staunch materialists (in the worse sense of the word). I lived like all my contemporaries. I was interested in the miracles of science, longed for the stars, while religious stories seemed very naive and comical compared with the visible achievements of scientific and technological thought.

The war broke out and a miracle happened. Even Stalin the personification of the spirit of Satan realised that there would be no victory without God's help. Priests were released from prison. churches were opened, millions of prayers were directed to heaven and who can deny that they were the decisive factor in the defeat of Hitler's satanic hordes?!

At the same time, the Church as in an autocratic state, was dependent on "the powers that be". I remember one mass when the priest solemnly sang "a long life to Joseph Stalin, God's chosen one, devout christian and leader". I felt sick, and from then on stopped going to church.

The war ended. I returned from the front, studied and worked. I am absolutely convinced that I have never had any leanings towards mysticism, religiousness or the transcendental.

And in 1946 I had a dream . . . I was crawling up the terribly steep slope of a mountain. I knew my father was waiting on the top and that I had to take his place in a difficult task. I climbed for a long time over streams, landslides, through bad weather and mists. My arms and legs were bleeding. I was choked with grief and loneliness. Nevertheless I finally reached the top and saw . . . Christ. He bore an incredible weight on his shoulders like ancient Atlas. His skin was bare, blood streamed down his body as his eyes sorrowful yet hopeful looked into mine. The weight tottered. I fell at His feet and woke up . . .

The dream stayed with me. I will never forget it. The reality of Christ entered my heart through channels which were beyond the intellect, through the world of mystery.

In 1949 Christ again appeared to me in a dream. I stood at the foot of a high mountain. A white cloud sailed swiftly down the mountainside and disappeared. Christ was standing next to me. He wore a dark tunic and a bloody Crown of Thorns on his head. I looked anxiously at his sad eyes, and felt close to Him as though he were my brother, father or close friend. He said, "Do you see this path?"

I looked in the direction He pointed to. There were raging torrents, impregnable mountain ranges and precipices, and the chaotic roots of ancient trees. "I see", I said.

"Follow that path".

"Why?"

"Go!" said Christ benevolently yet with authority.

I set off. He raised his hand in blessing . . .

. . . Shortly afterwards I was arrested. In fact, an old woman whom I told about my dream said, "Sorry times are ahead for you, you'll be put in prison". Six months later there was a trial. It was so unjust, so despicable that my soul, clear, pure and faithful to the most humane ideals of man took offence and naturally turned in on itself completely to look for a further meaning in life.

After sentence was passed I was taken to the court cell and locked up. At that moment I felt the presence of Christ. My friend please understand, it was not the *thought of Christ, nor a prayer to Him* which would have been understandable in such a state of tension and despair, *He Himself stood by me, embraced me.*

It happened suddenly, in a flash! I knelt down, though not slavishly. I fell at the feet of the Father and Teacher. I realised that I had *come back to myself, to my native home.* I began to pray fervently, begging Him: "I accept everything that fate brings! I only ask one thing: don't desert me in the stormy world! Be with me Dear One". My prayers were answered.

I saw prison walls. My life was in danger. I escaped, saw punishment cells and felt the breath of death. Yet always, whatever the situation, I felt the presence of the Teacher, (saw His shining blue eyes, praising or reproaching...).

Another mystery which shows that our Spiritual Father is always with us.

At a critical moment I declared a hunger strike in prison. I was kept in a cell for ten days and then taken to hospital. During the daytime I fell asleep. I dreamt that I opened the door and Christ was standing on the threshold. He was dressed in a snowwhite garment and wore a garland of white lilies. He smiled joyfully and raised his hand in blessing.

A liaison officer woke me up, asked my name and handed me a telegram. I read the following: "The Supreme Court has released you. Waiting for you at home... Father".

Do you understand my friend how synonymous the link between spiritual realities and the physical world is!? That is why to me the image of Christ has never been a theological abstraction or a debatable or doubtful proposition, but a Living Flame which gave strength and fire to my spirit.

The sceptics will accuse me of subjectivism. They will start to look for certain psychological complexes which surreptitiously infiltrated my infant mind and grew at difficult and troubled times. In other words, the mystical seed found favourable soil! That is not true! I never have been nor ever will be a mystic. I approach all "holy" writings, even the New Testament, critically, for the "spoken word is a lie". I am not impressed by eternal archaic rituals, theological dogma and the fear of the faithful before God.

On the contrary, the more I got to know about various ideas connected with the figure of Christ, negative or orthodox, the more I felt His cosmic reality, His life pulse. I came to the irrefutable conclusion that the union of mankind and all spheres of life is only possible through Christ, and not only of everyone on Earth, but all the Spheres of the Cosmic Mind.

"Why hasn't it happened?" You will ask. "How long do we have to wait? If Christ has appeared to you why hasn't he appeared to other people? And if He is the inviolable reality of the Spirit, why can't we see Him as we do the sun, the clouds, the flowers, the wind or the stars?! Why do we have to prove His historicity and divinity?"

This is the crux of the whole problem, the essence of *Christ's Testament*.

What does His testament mean? If He became Man, lived on Earth, *had a message for mankind then it must be extremely important, more than anything...*

It is true!

You need only ask an ardent believer about the essence of Christ's Testament, the Good Tidings and the Gospel. The answer of most

believers will be uncertain, confused and dubious. Some will repeat: love God with all your heart and do unto your neighbour as you would be done by! Some will mention the Sermon on the Mount: blessed are the weak in spirit, blessed are the peacemakers and so on. However, if we think deeply enough we will realise that all these commandments are affirmations of *certain moral and ethical norms* for harmonious coexistence between people.

But surely the reason why the Son of God came to Earth and took upon himself the terrible burden of Golgotha, *was more than just to teach ethical norms*? Before His coming *these ethical norms* were already known and had been established by the better human minds — Pythagoras, Buddha, Socrates and countless other geniuses.

Surely the Wonderful, Loving, Omnipresent, All-Embracing, Universal Christ did not walk the rough Earth merely to repeat those undoubtedly beautiful spiritual truths? And if He did, why haven't these truths become an inner law to man? On the contrary, after He came the night became darker, death more horrific and suffering more cruel! What is the root of Christ's Testament? Let us recall His first words reflected in the Good Tidings: "Repent! The Kingdom of God is near! Follow Me!"

What does He mean by repent? Beating our hearts and chests? Recalling our sins and confessing them? Promising that "I won't do it again"? That would be very naïve and unworthy of the Divine Word!

Let us go to the root of the word "repent!" Cain! Fratricide! The one, who jealous of spiritual Abel, killed him and himself began a line of warriors, builders, scholars, artists and so on. It was Cain who broke the link with God, Life Itself. Who are Abel and Cain? Cain is the body, or more exactly, the flesh which longs to live and be part of the *visible* world (the world of the *eye*, Cain, *the damned*).

Abel is the spiritual inner essence, the lamb (fire), the source of life. The exterior being longing to control the world of form, devours its twin brother, stifles his voice and breaks the link with the Divine Essence. And even when the Voice of Conscience asks: "Cain, where is your brother Abel?" The murderer can only mumble rudely in reply: "I'm not my brother's keeper".

This is very true! Unable to guard his Holy Brother who was the eternal link with the Root of Life, Cain and all humanity fell into the deepest of infernal spheres, a hell where the voice of Heaven is hardly audible! The Planet underwent cycles of terrible wars, destruction, torture, senseless building, fruitless searching, uninspired dreams and aspirations and ceaseless fratricidal disputes. Men became animals. Instead of a Living God, the Spirit of Infinite Being, man created idols, as cruel and despicable as himself; gods who demanded sacrifices, blood, sumptuous offerings and endless obeisance. Life on Earth was doomed. Then Christ appeared in the most difficult part of the Planet, in the darkest night, saying: "Repent!" Which means:

reject Cain. Resurrect Abel the Holy Brother! He is not to be found in spheres invisible but in your soul. He is your secret forgotten essence . . .

Christ Himself is a Resurrected Abel, First among mortals, Newly Born into the Father's Kingdom, the Cosmic Soul. "Follow me!" "Where to, Lord? Where is the Kingdom of God?" "The Kingdom of God is within you!"

So simple? Yet so complex! Inconceivably complex. Where is it within us? In our hearts? In our brains? In the neurons in our blood-streams? But it is said that the body is the body and the soul the soul! It is also said that our Heavenly Father asks Him to make His kingdom come on Earth as it is in Heaven!

What a strange chain of logic: the Kingdom of God is in heaven not on earth. Heaven and God Himself are within us! So we originate from God Himself, like the flower grows from the seed, an invisible root hidden underground.

This is the essence of Christ's Testament: *people carry the Kingdom of God, they are the Sons of God, the legal heirs* of the Spiritual and Stellar Infinity. Taking life and essence from the Divine source they could by revealing their boundless freedom grow up to be as Fulfilled as the Father, creating evolution, worlds, realising their essence, depth and inexhaustibility.

Instead, Cain killed Abel! The free will led the immature earth-bound brother "tiller" to crime, self-deprivation and self-theft. Instead of spiritual strength — the external energy of minerals and thunderous machines; instead of external self-creation — alienated mediocre art, blind and wretched compared with vivid reality; instead of Global union according to the law of Love and Beauty — death, ruin, general hatred and the transformation of the Sphere of Life into a filthy, agonising cesspool . . .

Cain's apologists, his faithful sons will say: "We don't need Abel. We don't need Christ. We'll manage without Him! We've got machines, rockets, stupendous inventions, thousands of brilliant scientists and experts! Nature falls at our feet revealing its hidden secrets. The Gate of the Cosmos has been opened and noone will close it again. God can go now we've beaten Him and we'll get on without him!"

True, the descendants of Cain have travelled far. Spaceships are now soaring into the starry spaces, man has now set foot on the neighbouring planets. There is nothing miraculous about this: the human mind is a reflection of the Father's own Wisdom.

And yet why don't the cosmic flights and the flickering screens of computer complexes bring happiness?

Why is the Planet engulfed in sadness, hopelessness, fear and uncertainty? Why is the biosphere on the verge of destruction? Why has the cult of acquisitiveness reached a climax? Why are love and

happiness disappearing; without them life is only a grey disgusting spectre?!

There is only one explanation: people rejected the most precious treasure of their soul — Christ, *their own selves*. As if the flesh which they serve is their real *self*? It is just a mask which disappears so quickly without a trace, leaving a stench and ashes . . .

The true essence, Christ, the living God, the Ruler of our Soul, our Secret Essence waits and waits longing for the children of earth to *repent*, reject vain and transitory things, and return to the ordained path of Eternal Joy in the Kingdom of God the Father and the Mother of Wisdom!

The centuries passed and the mountain of wickedness grew, understanding does not come and Christ has become a *petrified idol*, God shackled by golden raiments, Antichrist. The descendants of Cain form cults round his name and rituals in his honour; hundreds of sects and churches ruin the mission, tear the tunic of the Son of God into rags and build empires of Cain on Earth in His Name.

Millions of believers crawl in the dust before the Saviour's image begging Him to come to their rescue and aid! Come, where? Rescue them from what? Help them, how? Do people realise that they need to be rescued from themselves? Do they understand that they can find help in their hearts, because "the Kingdom of God is within us" and it is only waiting to be released!?

Can people understand that Christ will not come until a dwelling place worthy of Him has been prepared!? His fiery essence cannot enter obsequious souls, greedy hearts, deceitful consciences or trembling flesh! Leaving this for ashes and the chasm of nonexistence we should courageously stride towards the fiery baptism which awaits us!

Remember what Christ said "I came to earth bringing fire, it is time for it to flare up!" Christ cannot help man through *despotism*. He brought us the Power, of the Spirit and Love. This Power is the Lord's Power, it gives without taking, unites without dividing! "Sinners" will not enter the Kingdom of God neither will fanatics, hypocrites or those who pay lip service to Christ while their hearts are filled with the cold stoney thoughts of Cain! He waits for brave warriors prepared to sacrifice their souls for their friends, to find their *true soul* in the World of the Father!

What practical steps should we take to bring nearer the Day of the Great Resurrection, when the Son and the Father will meet again and the Sphere of Life is again reunited in the Lap of Love?

Many church hierarchs have sinned against God's Spirit by discrediting Christ and adapting His Testament to fit the wretched needs of earthly tyrants, at the same time representing the human soul as a wretched sinful entity which after death will stand before the Terrible Tribunal of the Heavenly Judge. *This monstrosity* entered the human soul, became its concentrated essence and closed

the Gates of the Soul where for centuries the sad Father has been waiting for his Human Son. Christ Himself said that the Son who has understood that he is lost and returns home, will bring more happiness to the Father than those who have always been by His side.

This statement by the Teacher opened all the locks of fear. And the new universal Church which awaits us and new hierarchs, the faithful disciples of Christ, will lead human souls not to a merciless judge, but to the One Father, where the Joy of a New Birth and the bliss of endless realisations of Love await all who have risen from the grave of pseudo-existence . . .

Lucifer the primeval cunning enemy of Unity has sent countless temptations into the world. This applies to the 20th century in particular, which abounds with them. The noosphere, the Sphere of the Mind, seethes with the chaos of inventions, arrogant schemes, universal craving and greedy expectation. The human mind after appropriating God's Prerogatives longs for immortality, omnipresence and omnipotence. The arsenals of major states bursting at the seams with cosmic potential for global destruction, computer complexes make lightening calculations and modifications, rocket technology has entered an era of plastic technological evolution capable of developing inter-stellar spaceships for reaching distant planets, while biology and genetic engineering have penetrated the fundamental principles of life. There can be no denying this!

However, every serious scientist and thinker realises that we have entered a vacuum. All our might is just a ridiculous phantom before the silent Eye of Eternity. Our flesh which clothes our arrogant reason is incapable of forming the basis for mastering the Infinity of Time and Space. We together with our flesh are snails which long to conquer the Heavens. For this reason the most sober scientists are already dreaming about kiborgs, kibernetic supermen who will replace us. Apparently, they will be given a long technological life and sophisticated receivers capable of operating in various spheres and worlds. However, this technological utopia merely attests to the impotence of modern science which broke away from the Spirit, the secret *reality of Life*, a long time ago. Whatever the technological discoveries made by science, whatever super-rockets it sends to the stars, it will find nothing there except its own superstitions, the rumbling of chaotic elements, indifferent planetary rock and the pulsating of quasars and super-stars! The scientist will then realise that we are only *discovering ourselves* — in the world around us; our greatness or worthlessness.

Our efforts will only bear worthy fruit if we bless them with the Image of Christ. Why? Because Christ is not just the central figure of the next religious cult but the very core of *human Existence*, the *phenomenon* of Heavenly Man. To enter cosmic infinity without Him is to enter a vacuum and crumble into nothingness. To go with Him is to unite all our efforts with the Heart of the Universe, to gather

oneself above the dust of ages and space and imibe infinity.

The meaning of man is great if he understands his mission, as Man the Divine Builder to whom the Heavenly Father has *himself* entrusted the task of crowning cosmic creation. In order to free his children from the hell of the flesh, God *established* on Earth the *phenomenon* of Christ as an example of *Universal union* and *creativity*. We on the other hand wait passively for the *coming* of the Son of God, ruin this Heavenly Image or in despair throw ourselves into the emptiness of pseudo-achievements.

We must wake up and grasp the essence of *Christ's Testament*. It is not empty faith, but ardent *faithfulness* and *trust* in the Teacher who has summoned us to follow the path of Heroism and Love. Not to wait for Him in helplessness but to cast ourselves in his direction with a burning desire to destroy the thousand-year-old wall of alienation and death which has separated us from the Father and Mother. This kind of fiery concentration of Spirit cannot fail to summon Lightening from Heaven! Lightening cannot flash where there is mud and dampness instead of electric tension!

What is the hub of Union? The Church, East or West? Or perhaps it is the free christian federations, sects and so on?

The Earthly Church has fulfilled its destiny — the Foundation Stone of the Cathedral of the Son of Man has been set.

True, it is bloodstained and rough, unfinished, dilapidated and backward. But all foundations are the same! The root of a plant is rough and ugly, but how beautiful the flower!

So too is the flower of God's Creation, the Heavenly Church, the Untold Beauty of Eternal Life. We respect the Church which has preserved the *Letter* of Christ's Testament! The Spirit of the Testament forms sudden Lightening.

The Powers of Darkness have tried to discredit the church by controlling it on Earth with the help of legions of Judases and Cains. But in ruining the church they formed an Invisible Church and in profaning God's Word they raised it up, and in scattering the searchers for Truth they pushed them towards a New Heaven and a New Earth!

Indeed today the Earthly Church seems lifeless and immobile, the spirit of wonder no longer acts through it. This attests to the blindness of sleeping mankind which resembles a winter-field, dead and barren. But the eyes of the sower see deep into the essence of the soil. In the cold earth the seed slumbers, which in springtime will bring a wonderful harvest.

The same is true of the Church; it is the winter-field of Christ. The seeds which He has sown in frozen human souls are alive because they were sown there by the Divine Sower. When the Sun of the Spirit rises the seeds inspite of sceptic opposition from our reason will be brought to life by the *breath* of Fatherly Love.

Our mission is to understand this and feel the breath of Divine

Spring... My friend! Can't you hear the singing, the birds are returning from the hot countries?! The power of Christ is knocking on the hearts of men. His arms stretch out in welcome. Prepare to cross the chasm. Just shake off the dirt and mud to avoid falling in!

The Teacher is not in Heaven, beyond the mountains and oceans or in the world beyond! Here, beside you His spiritual sword rings, before your spiritual gaze the eyes of the New Day of Christ sparkle, summoning the end of war and death, suffering and misery. The best fruits of the Divine Garden await us if we courageously and confidently prepare for ourselves the raiments of the Spirit which have not been decayed by Eternity...

Where and when will this take place?

Here. On Earth. Now. Today.

Stand up. Brush away the dust of yesterday from your shoes! Listen, the Bell of the last Battle tolls! The battle between your soul and your counterpart of darkness who has enveloped your Living Soul in a cunning web of millennial dogma! Listen to the Love of Christ resounding in your heart! Reveal it, inhale the starry breath of Eternity! Listen, you can feel the Breath of the Teacher nearby that is why your victory is assured!

Come to the petrified Image of Christ, embrace Him, fill yourselves with His grief, His expectation. Break the hard shell round your soul and say: "Awake, my soul! Rise Sovereign! The time has come!"

And it shall be so!

New stars will burn in the sky. Thousands of walls will fall. Thousands of dead will rise! Both near and far will be one. Instead of the former temples of vanity and fear, the Temple of Infinity will shine forth together with the light of the stars and the brotherly spheres of the One Life. And everything which seems strong and powerful today will disappear like a mirage! What is now invisible and forgotten will rise. Grief, sadness and death will perish forever! Every plant stalk, every animal, every being will be united with Man and Man with God!

It shall be so! It is the Testament of Christ!

Christ, son of the living God! Accept us, meet us! We offer you our embrace, our hearts our ability our courage and our faithfulness! Take all of this and imbue it with *Your all-embracing heart* of Love and Happiness!

My friend! Are you waiting for Christ? Do you long for Union? Do you long for Union? Do you want to wake from the dark sleep of millennial illusion?

Christ has come. He is here. He is within us. The Day of Christ has begun.

Christ is risen! In Truth!

1977.

Translated by Wolodymyr Slez.

THE FROTHNIERS CULTURE

(Part three)

The organisation of the opposition movement

The establishment of the Ukrainian Group to Monitor the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Ukrainian Opposition Movement was an important precedent. Now another, even more significant step has been taken which involves "the activation of all forces, the unification of individual groups and greater co-ordination of activities taking place outside Ukraine and which thus represents an efficient internal opposition to the ruling nation". Although analogous attempts have already been seen, this question demands the utmost attention and is extremely urgent and of great significance. From the perspective of a realistic possibility of the a new revival of the movement it represents the mutual reinforcement of its progressive aims and techniques, and thus the achievement of the most significant gains in the struggle for the life and freedom of the nation.

The combination of these factors represents an exceptionally complex set of problems that demand solution through the efforts of many people, detailed preparations, a sound analysis and a precise evaluation of the existing situation — impossible to achieve in the conditions of a prison. Thus, while not departing from the framework of these observations (whose aim is local) it is the intention of these questions — not always precisely formulated for tactical reasons — and this brief discussion to present an objective (if not always complete) account of the true state of Ukrainian national-social life and the present position of Ukrainian culture. Rest assured that these pressing problems are already being dealt with in Ukraine, or are at least being discussed and are partially embodied. The questions are presented as actual tasks to be accomplished, but in a superficial manner. We intend to present them as batons in a relay race which are to be passed to the new generation that will infuse the movement. The new generation which will join the progressive movement has already inherited that which we have already achieved and placed on a firm foundation and given new methods and structures. It should now continually progress, and not begin again at the starting point — which fate befell our generation as a consequence of historical circumstances.

The present situation of the empire, scientific-technical progress, economic factors, internal and external political circumstances are conducive to the development of the activities of the opposition and to the success of the liberation struggle, despite the fact of the totalitarian regime's furious retaliation which could easily escalate into a total attack with repressions, pogroms, provocations. The regime — fully aware of the "danger" of the existing situation, of the

"dangers" presented by the active opposition forces and of the possibility of the growth of this movement — on the one hand is conducting an active external policy, which deflects attention from its internal problems. And on the other hand it continues to force the mass resettlements of the captive nationalities beyond the boundaries of their ethnic territories. The disciples of Moscow's imperial policies colonise non-Russian lands with Russians and foreign populations, and conduct a concomitant policy of enforced Russification of the new settlers, and thus hasten their ethnocide.

In order to distract the attention of both their own and the world's communities from the internal situation of the empire, the regime is forced to conduct dynamic external policies — in "hot spots" (a well tested imperial practice) regardless of their location. And the empire continues this practice. With this intention the empire is continually developing its military potential, militarising every branch of the economy and using the "screen" of space to threaten nuclear destruction. This has become a means of intimidation threatening occupation of other nations — first and foremost of the European nations — which could destroy the world's balance and bring it to cataclysm. This represents the tested, active and precisely formulated strategy of the imperial state machine which has also acted to prevent the disintegration of the empire by providing the means of dealing with a potentially dangerous threat internally. Thus, it is understandable that as the activities of the opposition increase, so the repressions of the regime increase. Thus today as the strength of the opposition grows, so it is confronted with the new expansion of the repressive apparatus, with its growing system of informants, surveillance, control of social thought psychiatric methods of controlling behaviour, the expansion of the network of concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals for political prisoners. These are those circles of Dante's hell that the new generation of community activists infusing the opposition movement shall be forced to pass through.

However, the regime is no longer strong enough to eliminate tens of millions of people — to repeat the "genocide" of the 1930's and 1940's. This is not because its character has changed, or that totalitarian communism has become "civilised", "more humanitarian" or less blood thirsty. No, its nature has not altered but the nature of the scientific-technical revolution, urbanisation have dictated their own demands on the regime, which have involved creating a more open society. Further, the regime now understands that if it were to destroy tens of millions of lives, it would also destroy itself. Also high inflation, economic depression, the stagnation and deterioration of science, the progressively worsening living conditions of the population demand greater contact with the outside world. These are the reasons why the beginning of the 1980's shall see large numbers of the intelligentsia joining the opposition movement and

shall see the development of co-ordinated activities of democratic forces.

The task that lies ahead shall be protracted, intense and difficult. It shall be without illusion and shall not devalue the opposition movement. It shall be a spiritual task which shall restore the nations to their rightful place in the world community. The components of these forces, their strength, sources of replenishment — open and manifest (although working clandestinely for the moment) are still fermenting and growing internally, with the intelligentsia — whose structure and opinions are still not exactly formulated — forming social thought and harmoniously developing.

I shall attempt to give a brief characterisation of the different groups. They are not organised nor do they have a co-ordinating centre but the different elements (and they are still simply elements) of the opposition are united in their conscious and openly-declared opposition activities. Their primary task — for which they would sacrifice their lives — is a determined and decisive counter-reaction (non-violent) to imperial policies that are intent on engulfing the nation. The opposition is determined to achieve the democratisation of society, to preserve the national spirit, to mobilise the growing — although scattered — national forces and to co-ordinate those activities striving to attain sovereignty and freedom for the nation.

The work of this section of the national intelligentsia — independently of their spheres of activity in social thought, humanitarian studies, literature, clandestine activities etc — without a doubt constitutes the most important contribution to the treasury of the culture of the captive nation by prolonging its life, while simultaneously broadening the sphere of the opposition by the inclusion of other loyal groups. Mention should also be made of the contributions of the emigre groups and the diaspora living in the countries of the free world. The size and quality of that contribution is reflected in the general level of national culture, in the readiness of a nation to defend national existence, its level of consciousness, its vitality and future. The dynamism and the development of the liberation processes is dependent on these qualities. The work of this large group is both noble and honourable. It is precisely for this reason that the Russian imperial administration has developed the "most perfect" system of physical and moral terror, which is without precedent in the history of mankind and which is directed against all the opposition forces of all the captive nations, but first and foremost against the Ukrainian nation — a developed, viable nation that is one of the largest in Europe. This is why Moscow is attempting to drain the life-blood of each of our nation cells. It seems that have been placed under a stream of "penetrating X-rays" and that Moscow is trying to implement an all-embracing control of our national-social life beginning in the village, homes, community, and school and ending in our industrial centres, city complexes and economic institu-

tions. It is in the face of these difficult conditions that the opposition and a section of the intelligentsia experience the most repressions and losses, and during pogroms — that last for decades — their achievements are either gradually or brutally destroyed, and thus the number of truly dedicated participants is diminished.

But even with the minimal favourable conditions this indestructible force erupts again and again. It is reborn and revitalised, and brings the nation closer to achieving its aims. Let us recall the classically organised activities — the mature perfection of party organisation in a European style when national harmony and consolidation of national forces acted as the powerful flow of a single river in its desire to achieve its aim at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, which period also saw the development of our classical literature, social thought and culture in general: the Great National Revolution and its principles of statehood were formulated on the highest principles of world democracy — was this not a unitary phenomenon?

Let us take the example of the development of Ukrainian literature in the 1920's which took place in conditions of minimal freedom for creativity and which was prevented from any further development because of the genocide of the 1930's. Let us look at the liberation struggle and the protracted partisan warfare and the national solidarity that it achieved — support for the underground in Halychyna lasted until the beginning of the 1950's. Finally let us recall the renaissance of the 1960's that flowered in impossible conditions. This phenomenon is natural and is in conformity with natural laws, and for us — Ukrainians — it is completely comprehensible, unique, of immense significance and even mystic, because even after centuries of captivity, brutal repressions, pogroms, prohibitions, national strangulation, the policies of destroying and assibilating the elite of each generation the phenomenon has revived. This, after the implementation of such policies for over three centuries, and in particular after the unprecedented genocide of the last 50 years which destroyed tens of millions of Ukrainians — that criminal destruction of the nation that took the life of every third and fourth Ukrainian. The explosion of the national struggle had such strength and courage that it proves that Ukrainian culture is eternal and indestructible.

This phenomenon is natural, unique and also mystic because it represents the eternal state of our national spirit, our internal strength and the essence of the nation, its deep faith, which along with its language, spiritual imperatives, religion, genetic and geographic factors that constitute a nation, its history, traditions, culture.

This phenomenon testifies to the maturity of the community, its civilising role in the immense regions of Eastern Europe. It is proof of the historical age of the nation — whose history stems back over two thousand years, of its high level of social thought and to the

level of its culture. It is the guarantee of its life, its greatest strength in its struggle for sovereignty and statehood. For the highly developed — but captive — nations in their most critical stage of development but facing the danger of their own destruction — which faces the Ukrainian nation — the consolidation of the opposition forces, their qualitative and quantitative membership, the activation and growth of the liberation processes and the co-ordination of activities, are demanded and the inherent essence of the national character and the objective needs of the struggle for life are the prerequisites for the preservation of the nation for its cultural progress and for the attainment of freedom.

The representatives of national culture and as a rule the realistic instigators and potential source of the opposition are the creators and bearers of culture, and shall remain as these creators and bearers until such time arrives that culture is no longer persecuted, or until their lives end. Without entering into direct conflict with the imperial state machine and the official ideology they are united in their national aspirations and in the national traditions of the captive nation, and thus create a complied culture through these eclectic means. This culture is not at its highest level of development but the creativity of this group is a process accomplished in a masterly and often artistic manner. Brilliantly talented people join this community and today their work is noticeably reflected in poetry, partially in prose and in particular in the works of young authors, in works with historical themes and in translation of foreign literature. But the regime does not allow even the last of these categories to escape its notice and censure, and it ensures that the literature from the countries of the socialist camp with themes identical to those of Soviet apologists for communism or the pro-Soviet literature of Western countries is given first priority for translation purposes. It is thus under the direct or indirect control of Moscow and such imperial literature cannot always be included with artistic achievements. Simultaneously the translation of the national literatures of the empire are severely restricted as is the publication of foreign classics — one of the prerequisites for the normal functioning and development of each culture.

The Reality of Socialist Realism

The majority of the members of the opposition are nationally conscious and sincerely wish to contribute to the culture of our nation. However, due to the circumstances which they find themselves in, their contributions cannot reflect the true spirit of the nation, its ambitions and tasks. It merely reflects a superficial cultural character that is only expressed in language, life-style, in individual character-

istics of the national stereotype or in geographic or historic features. And in as much as a large number of truly talented artists and their creativity bears elements of nationalism (true, external ones) which do not enter into conflict with the official ideology and politics (but on the contrary support them) then the imperial administration will use the names of those individual artists as a propaganda screen to prove the "development and blossoming" of national cultures, and proclaims them to be the achievements (although these claims are not always sufficiently realistic) of the whole empire both within the empire and abroad. Further it organises favourable responses in the communist or pro-communist press, publishes works in foreign languages under its own label, and using this thick propaganda screen continues to perpetrate its own black deeds.

Writers are aware of this, but fear and the illusion of success have their own consequences. As national patriots and also involuntary participants of the process of the devaluation of national values and the captivity of their own nation, a majority of the activists continually feel "scizophrenic". While having inherited patriotism and a deep calling to create true artistic values for their nation within the limits of their abilities and to donate these talents and achievements to the nation, each of them is simultaneously forced into a conflict and is forced to pay his dues to the ideology of the ruling nation and the politics of the occupier through their own creativity. Thus that which is alien, and which often prevents creative development, which is unnatural and often loathed is used for propaganda purposes, and is praised and glorified. It authorises the labelling of the colonial status of nations and the downfall of national cultures as "democratic and free" whereas it is infact pure animal chauvinism and the oppression by the ruling nation, which justifies Russification by labelling it "international education", and which serves to confirm the myth of a "single Soviet nation".

Thus to again take the illustration offered by literature and in particular creative literature (a traditional measurement) which should be aesthetically perfect in form and which should thus depict reality, describe the objective, the spirit and task of the nation, which should be the history of the nation — and which should oppose the ideology enforced by the ruling nation. Apart from this, which should be a right for each artist, the artist should also have the right to develop freely in any direction he chooses — including the search and development of his own individuality (as the world famous Archipenko and "archipenkism"). This is not in principle opposed by the "theoretical formulae" and canons of orthodox Soviet doctrine (as in literature), but which in practice acts to create a myth, a legend — and where there is no room to speak of freedom and creativity.

(To be continued)

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS PERSECUTED BY SOVIET RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES

One priest found murdered, another died in mysterious fire

An elderly Ukrainian catholic priest and his wife were burned to death on February 26-27 1980 in the village of Tomashivtsi, Kalush Region, Ukraine.

Father Anatoliy Gurgula had secretly carried on serving the pastoral needs of the Ukrainian catholics in his area despite threats and warnings from the Soviet Russian authorities and attempts to persuade him to change his faith to that of the officially-sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church.

The fire which also took the life of Father Gurgula's wife occurred the day after he received a parcel from the USA containing a new chalice and new priestly vestments.

Eyewitnesses said the bodies were almost completely destroyed in the fire and it has been suggested the priest and his wife had been soaked in highly inflammable liquid. This is based on the fact that a case full of church papers and a bible in the same room were not destroyed by the fire.

In the other incident the body of Father Yevhen Kotyk, in his sixties, was discovered near the village of Zymna Voda, Lviv Region, Western Ukraine. The body of the priest bore traces of torture including bruising and smashed teeth.

The funeral of Father Kotyk was held in Lviv on the 10th May 1980, and it was attended by a large crowd of faithful. The body may have lain undiscovered for some days.

Two letters have been received in the West from the village of Tomashivtsi concerning the death of Father Gurgula and his wife. We reproduce them below in English translation.

Letter No. 1.

"Greetings from your native village of Tomashivtsi on this day March 3, 1980. Dear Friend, I decided to write to you because a great tragedy has occurred, a terrible thing. During the night of February 26-27 our priest Father Gurgula and his wife were burned to death. As they lived together, so they died together; they were burned to a cinder. All that remained of the Father was scooped in two shovel fulls and his wife looked like a little child. Both had their heads missing.

The Father had been ill for many years and was paralysed. But whenever he felt better he christened children at his house and said Mass.

The poor Father prayed always, he never harmed anyone, yet he was not allowed to die a natural death . . .

They used to receive parcels from America. He was sent aid

because he was a priest and an invalid. He had just received a parcel and the next day he was dead.

What happened? Nobody knows because nobody was there. His house burned down, their bodies were burned to cinder. People say that someone must have sprayed them with something to be burned in such a way. A case with various church papers and a bible were not burned.

They were buried on March 1. It is hard to describe the funeral, there were so many people. The funeral service was in a church at Kaminne because our church beyond the river is shut. People came from all the surrounding villages . . .”

Letter No. 2. (Excerpts)

“ . . . I will tell you about a terrible happening. Yesterday we buried Father Gurgula and his wife. No one can recall such a terrible happening before. At about midnight somehow the Father's house caught fire but nobody saw it start. Everyone was asleep and by the time the fire was discovered it was too late. The Father and his wife were burned so badly that nothing remained of their heads, legs or arms. Some little parts of their bodies remained and that is what the people buried.

Two coffins were made and the remains were put inside. The funeral service was at Kaminne. People flocked to the church as if it was Christ's burial place. It was terrible. His house was destroyed. There were very many people at the funeral. They came by foot and by other means from all neighbouring villages and towns in such multitudes that all the roads were crammed. Three priests performed the funeral service. All the people of our village are still weeping . . .”

ACTIVIST ATTACKED

News has recently filtered through to the West of a brutal attack on Ukrainian activist Hryhoriy Tokayiuk.

Tokayiuk, aged 34, has been attempting to get permission to leave the USSR for three years. In a letter to Brezhnev, dated August 2, 1979, he protested at a KGB proposal to let him leave the USSR providing he agreed to marry a woman they nominated. Tokayiuk refused to consider the arrangement.

The attack happened on January 12 this year. A car drew up outside Tokayiuk's home and he was bundled into it by its KGB or KGB lackey occupants.

Tokayiuk was driven to a wooded area where he was severely beaten, occasioning head injuries.

His attackers told Tokayiuk he should stop working with “Ukrainian nationalists”.

KLEBANOV IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL

Vladimir Klebanov, the Ukrainian coal miner who has been persecuted by the Soviet Russian authorities for trying to found an unofficial trade union, is now in a psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk.

VASYL STUS ARRESTED

Vasyl Stus, a well-known Ukrainian poet and a member of the Ukrainian Public Group Monitoring the Helsinki Accords has been arrested in Kyiv on charges of promoting anti-Soviet propaganda.

Stus was first arrested in January 1972 and since then has been constantly harassed by the authorities.

His work has not been published officially in the USSR but some of his anthologies have been published abroad. He has written many protests letters on behalf of other persecuted Ukrainian activists. He is reported to be in poor health.

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Y. VILSHENKO

CONTINUITY OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

Continuity and purpose characterize the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, vanguarded during the past fifty years by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Today's liberation processes in Ukraine constitute the established chainlinks of historical extension of Ukrainian national liberation struggles for self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation, its right to be the master of its own land and destiny, whose roots reach deeply into our historical past.

History notes that each and every phase of the liberation struggle of an enslaved nation was never an isolated phenomenon in itself, but only one of historical stages, most often a direct extension of the previous struggle, upon which it is formulated, by which it is nourished, and upon which it is lawfully based. The same established historical process can be noted in the present stage of the liberation struggle in Ukraine, which Yevhen Svertyuk in his work "Cathedral In Scaffolds" (1970) corroborates by this confirmation: "Heroically spilled blood does not disappear. It transforms itself into a new form of spiritual energy, bringing forth a human being, whose purpose is to glorify it. The past is resurrected and flourishes in the genius" of the present. Similar statements are made by other authors, who either exist in unpenetrable underground, or participate in open resistance movement.

As we know, a liberation struggle can have diverse manifestations — armed, politically-ideological, nationally-cultural, religious, socially-economic, and others, depending upon different circumstances and expediency in a particular situation.

At the present time in Ukraine, the national liberation processes involve virtually almost all spheres of social life, inclusive of various forms of sabotage, destruction, mass demonstration, refusal of young people to serve in the Red Army, and even armed opposition.

The contemporary liberation struggle in Ukraine is described by different persons or groups in different ways, as the fighting Ukraine, liberation processes, resistance movement, national liberation movement, human rights defence movement, etc., and its participants as heroic freedom fighters, the unconquered, national patriots, the uncompromising, and even, although inaccurately, dissidents, etc.

Fundamental basis of the ideologically-moral national resistance movement against Russian aggressors was and is Ukrainian nationalism, encompassing the ideal of an independent and sovereign nation which was and is its principal initial position. With support of wide spheres of population, the most effective and uncompromising liberation struggle in Ukraine was and is conducted by the nationalist

underground, in formats and using the methods which the particular situation may necessitate and which has the greatest chance of succeeding and the greatest guarantee of accomplishment of specific aims.

It should also be noted that the leading role in the formation of national consciousness of the whole Ukrainian nation and in the spreading of ideals of nationalism throughout the whole Ukraine, as well as the range of U.S.S.R., inclusive of countries of the free world wherever Ukrainians reside, resulted from the liberation warfare waged on two fronts by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ukrainian Insurgent Army — Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (OUN-UPA-UHVR), and including systematically and purposefully conducted underground activities of OUN up to this date.

The renewal of Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State by the Act of June 30, 1941, which was headed by Prime-Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, resulted in enormous psychological optimism of the whole Ukrainian population and even the imprisonment of the entire government by the Germans and Germany's attempt to liquidate this independence did not deaden, but on the contrary, sharpened the storming thrust of Ukrainians toward uncompromising struggle for the renewal of the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

As a result of the above, massive heroic liberation struggle developed, led by OUN-UPA-UHVR, which S. Karavansky calls "nationwide uprising", and Y. Sverstyuk states that into this battle "went the very best that were at that time in Ukraine". ("Memoirs Of Rosnyanska About Her Meeting With Sverstyuk", "Sučasnist'", 1975).

Thus, the organized, controlled and directed armed warfare of liberation of OUN-UPA-UHVR, generally taking place between 1942-1953, encompassed central cadres of fifty thousand (50,000) soldiers and in addition more than two hundred thousand (200,000) reserve and auxiliary troops. This is really a powerful, modern army of liberation in the latter-day epoch of our history. However, as a matter of fact, this army was much larger, if we consider all those who in different ways were helpful participants in this struggle.

It is impossible to be completely accurate with reference to the correct number of participants in this period of our liberation struggle, it will necessitate separate research, however, based on different sources of information, the approximation runs into millions. It is a certified fact that in 1945-1948 only, the Russians arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment two hundred forty thousand (240,000) persons for membership in and association with OUN-UPA. "Ukrainian Herald", No. 7-8, 1974, writes that from 1947 to 1951, Russian occupational forces exiled from Western Ukraine only to Siberia and the Far East additional two million Ukrainians, accusing them of cooperation and fellowship with members of UPA,

called "Banderists". At least similar number of persons due to the same accusation were exiled from other sections of Ukraine.

With reference to the nationwide mass involvement in the Banderist movement, we find many confirmations from the enemy — Russia. For instance, the occupational press noted that on March 17, 1973, during the appearance of then Secretary of Lviv Regional Committee Kucelov, he warned the Russian occupational forces against the present and future underground activities of the Banderists, saying: "From places of isolation (namely from concentration camps and exile) fifty-five thousand (55,000) members of the OUN have returned to the Lviv Region from 1956 to date, not all of them repented and most of them are continuing their undermining activities".

U.S.S.R. Marshall V. I. Chujkov, in his memoirs entitled "The End Of The Third Reich", Kiev, 1975 Edition, writes that, during the time of the transfer of his army from the estuary of the river Dnieper towards the northern section of Korostec-Sarny, which progressed through Vinnycyia, Berdychiv and Zhytomyr, this pathway was considered as highly dangerous territory, due to the underground activities thereon. Further, Chujkov writes that, in order to secure the rear of the Red Army against "Banderists, we in the first place, painstakingly cut down and searched the forests and interrogated the people" in Zhytomyr and Rivne Regions, utilizing against the UPA vast numbers of choice army personnel and KGB units. He states further that throughout the above mentioned territories, danger was eminent at each step of the way, especially for KGB political instructors and high rank officers faithful to Moscow . . .

Marshall Chujkov's fear will become more understandable when we take into consideration the fact that the nationwide warfare was shattering the foundation itself of the Russian empire, as evidence by the agreement between Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia entered into for purposes of destroying the OUN-UPA.

From the hands of the nation's avengers fell not only such executioners as Chief of Nazi S.A. (Sturm Abteilung) General Luce, Russian Marshall Vatutin and Polish Vice-Minister of War General Svierchewski, but also the international criminals Khrushchev and his teacher Stalin narrowly escaped UPA bullets.

Recently confirmation was received from infallible sources that in July, 1945, when Stalin, as the head of the Russian delegation, was to travel by train to attend the Potsdam Conference with the Allies, UPA intelligence discovered the exact information concerning the time and route of travel. UPA combat company and fighters of the OUN, in ambush, placed mines on the rails. At the exactly determined time, the train appeared, the freedom fighters activated the mines, and the whole chlon, filled with Stalin's KGB troops, exploded — all died, but Stalin was saved only because, at the last minute, he decided to transfer to another train, which followed the

first one. The commander of the OUN-UPA group is being incarcerated to this date by the KGB in the hope that he will reveal from whom OUN intelligence received such exact accurate information about the time and route of the train carrying Stalin . . .

Based on various Ukrainian, foreign and even enemy sources, it was learned that Russia, for the purpose of repressing the liberation movement of OUN-UPA in the years 1943-1953, used over a million and a half of its exceptional military and police troops in addition to other supportive personnel, completely discounting its enormous human losses, in order to retain Ukraine in its claws, without which it would cease to exist as an empire.

Experts confirm that, during the most heated period of the liberation warfare, for one killed OUN member or UPA soldier, between fifteen (15) and eighteen (18) members of the MVD, party functionaries, or Russian servants paid with their lives. Later, this ration of losses changed to our disadvantage. In order to compensate for its own losses, Russia ordered its occupational troops to systematically exterminate peaceful Ukrainian population. As a result, hundreds of thousands of defenseless Ukrainian women, children and elderly were murdered. The terrorist KGB knows only too well where the community graves of those innocent Ukrainian victims are located. Periodically through this date, some of those graves are opened by the KGB, who consciously and with infinite planning attribute the victims therein to acts by members of OUN-UPA, even going so far as to placing them on trial for said acts.

For example, in 1961, Bohdan Chuyko, a UPA soldier, was discovered in Chernivci and sentenced to fifteen years of concentration camps for the killing of Soviet citizen H. Chubenko, who supposedly was buried by the Banderists in one of the mass graves in Chernivci Region. Ten years later, at one of the concentration camps, Chuyko met the same Chubenko, for whose murder he was serving his sentence. Thereafter, numerous eye-witnesses and B. Chuyko himself unequivocally proved that in the above mentioned mass grave were buried prisoners of war shot by the KGB, and not any Soviet citizens. However, this fact was not taken under consideration by the Russian Court. (See B. Chuyko's "Deposition" from 1978).

Similarly, the KGB, to this day, keep on opening the mass graves of its own victims, which are marked on its secret maps, even going so far as to erect monuments to the so-called victims of OUN-UPA, although the bodies buried there are the innocent victims of Russian monstrosity.

In the years 1942-1953, OUN-UPA was waging a truly heroic war on two fronts, which is almost impossible to describe in everyday terms. Such outstanding bravery and nationwide involvement in the struggle is unheard of in any history books up to the present time.

However, this war is still not completely documented, awaiting its researchers, writers and poets to do it justice.

An ideological front was waged simultaneously with armed warfare. This is evidenced by the numerous underground publications, appeals, leaflets, bulletins and statements explicating the position of OUN, UPA, UHVR with reference to different actual problems in Ukraine and outside its borders.

News of this struggle and its aims of liberation were disseminated by raiding UPA troops, workers returning from Germany to the U.S.S.R., prisoners of war, even Red partisans, families of MVD personnel and other occupational forces fallen in battles with OUN-UPA, and the masses of Ukrainians resettled, exiled and arrested for their cooperation with and participation in the Banderist movement, where they met with members of other enslaved nations and prisoners of war from the west spreading the truth by word of mouth, etc.

Change in the form of OUN-UPA struggle was initiated by the strategic genius of its Commander-in-Chief General Taras Chuprynka — Roman Shukhevych in 1947-1948, by consecutive transference from widespread armed warfare to a struggle in deep underground, which was distinguished by ideological attack upon enemy positions and is continuing to this date. Therefore, disregarding the discontinuance of mass armed warfare, the conception of the struggle for Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State did not decrease, but, to the contrary, has spread throughout the whole Ukrainian territory and throughout the world where there are Ukrainians.

In modified form, a decentralization of armed warfare also took place, which, in many instances, was being conducted beyond 1960 and in some cases, we were advised of armed conflicts during the seventies.

In such modified forms of struggle, large portions of UPA cadres, using counterfeit documents, legalized their positions and allocated themselves throughout different regions of Ukraine, where they continued their politically-ideological activities. Another portion of UPA membership went into deep underground, in which some still remain, as evidenced by the facts mentioned below. Still others are continuing in their armed resistance to the occupational forces.

The continuity of the liberation struggle is evidenced by testimonies of eye-witnesses and documents, as follows:

Occupational newspaper "Lenin's Youth", published in Lviv, Western Ukraine, Nos. 114-118, of September-October, 1978, in a series of articles entitled "Heroes In Masks And — Without Them", widely describes armed battles of OUN-UPA, particularly noting UPA officer *Vasyl Pidhorodeckyy*, who, using counterfeit documents, resided in Moldavia near Kyshev, and there, through many years, conducted his politically-ideological activities among the workers, finally resulting in his arrest. At present, he is imprisoned in Perm concentration camp.

Further, the same newspaper tells about another OUN-UPA soldier from "Hrin" Company, one of its battles resulted in the death of Polish Vice-Minister of War General Svierchewski, — by the name of Dmytro Basarab, who fought with weapons in his hands beyond 1953, then having been imprisoned in Russian concentration camps for twenty-five years, and, after having been released, continues to think in nationalistic categories...

"Chronology of Current Events", No. 33, 1974, states that during one battle of the UPA with soldiers of the MVD "in 1955, medical student, UPA para-medical Dmytro Verkholyak was taken prisoner and sentenced to twenty-five years of imprisonment in Siberian concentration camps".

Recent Jewish emigrant from U.S.S.R., Y. Emesman, in his memoirs entitled "In The Ternopil Region" describes in detail the armed battles of the underground in 1954 near Buchach and in Pidhayec forests of the Ternopil Region in 1955, the latter resulting in the death of two freedom-fighters and wounding of one female OUN member. She was taken prisoner by MVD troops, admitted to a hospital under MVD guard, and rescued by the freedom-fighters. In the same memoirs, Emesman writes about the present day nationwide resistance to Russian occupational forces. ("Victory Path", Nos. 9 and 10, 1980).

During the Hungarian uprising in 1956, renewed armed activities of OUN-UPA in the Carpathian Mountains necessitated the transfer of Russian troops from Hungary through Poland and Rumania, in order to quash said activities. In this and following years (1956-1958), mass arrests took place in Ukraine, followed by close trial proceedings, involving discovered members of OUN-UPA, such as Stepanyuk, Mamchur, Levytskyj, Demchuk, Lishchuk, Turyk, Strotsyn, and many others. Some of them were interrogated for two whole years, many of them were sentenced to death and shot. None of them were ever broken.

We all know that in 1953-1959 strikes and uprisings of political prisoners flared up with great strength in Russian concentration camps, were joined by vast numbers of exiles and free workers in Siberia, resulting in the development of a most dangerous situation, namely that said uprisings will spread throughout the whole Russian empire. In order to prevent the potential explosion of this dynamic situation, Russia retreated by releasing many concentration camp prisoners.

The vanguard role in these uprisings was played by members of OUN-UPA. Especially gloriously heroic pages of history were written by political prisoners in concentration camps in Kingir in June, 1954, against whom were sent special military troops of MVD and KGB, supported by aviation, artillery and tanks, said confrontation resulting in an uneven battle where more than one thousand male prisoners were killed and more than five hundred female prisoners were

crushed to death by tanks.

After a long, intensive search and hunt, in 1960 in Vorkuta, the KGB uncovered an excellently organized underground network entitled "OUN-North", whose activities continued from 1950 and whose members were instrumental in leading, directing and organizing the strikes and uprisings in the concentration camps. For their participation in said strikes and uprisings, the leaders of "OUN-North" Hasyuk, Leonyuk, Khrystynych and others were sentenced to twelve (12) additional years of concentration camps, and Mykhaylo Soroka was accused of being the principal leader of the entire OUN network in these territories of U.S.S.R., and finally tortured to death. (See "Ukrainian Herald", No. 3, 1970, memoirs and other materials).

In addition, OUN members in concentration camps played another very important role. They spread nationalist understanding among, and prepared for further action and struggle for liberation of Ukraine, the younger generation, whose members due to different reasons were incarcerated. This was exhaustively described by M. Osadchyj in his work "Cataract". V. Moroz writes with deep reverence about M. Soroka, who is considered a hero to freedom-fighters of the younger generation.

In Ukraine, the struggle goes on. Thus, in 1960, near the village of Poplavnyky in the Ivano-Frankivsk Region, a fierce battle took place between underground of the OUN and KGB troops, as a result of which a wounded OUN members Mykola Hladkovskyj was taken prisoner, and after regaining consciousness, committed suicide.

"Ukrainian Herald", No. 3, 1970, states that in 1961, in the Ternopil Region, underground members of OUN stationed in a secret bunker were discovered by the KGB. Their armed defence was heroic and, after using up all of their ammunition, they shot each other, in order to prevent themselves being captured by the KGB. Only *Maria Palchak's* wounds proved not to be fatal and, after receiving treatment, she was sentenced to death, which sentence was subsequently commuted to fifteen years imprisonment. Courier of this OUN group, Stepan Palchak, was also later arrested and sentenced to a long term of incarceration.

Antin Oliynyk, OUN Regional Secretary of Information, was active in armed resistance struggle with a group of OUN members from 1955 through 1965 in the Rivne Region, inflicting severe losses upon Russian occupational forces. One day, when he was on vacation, he was seized and shot by the KGB. Later, in lieu of an obituary, a large work of memoirs dedicated to A. Oliynyk, hero of Ukraine, written by his friends — OUN members, was smuggled to the West.

At that time, under the influence of the heroic armed struggle and ideologically-political underground activities of OUN-UPA, the national liberation processes in Ukraine took the form of polyhedral manifestations. The younger generation of all regions of Ukraine joined massively in these processes.

Numerous underground and semi-legal groups and organizations were formed all over Ukraine, established on the basis of Ukrainian national liberation ideal. "Ukrainian Herald" describes them as having "Banderist direction", and the enemy accuses them of being OUN oriented, created by OUN members who recruited new members for the OUN ranks. The following groups should be noted: In 1958 in Ivano-Frankivsk the "United Party Of Liberation of Ukraine" was organized; in 1961 in Lviv the "Ukrainian Workers-Peasants Union" and in 1967 also in Lviv the "Ukrainian National Committee" were organized; in 1967 in Ivano-Frankivsk the "Ukrainian National Front" was formed; in 1973 in Ivano-Frankivsk young men organized the "League Of The Ukrainian Youth Of Halychyna", and in Lviv the students organized a group called "Progress"; in 1974 in Donbas a student group was formed entitled "Democratic Student Organization", and in 1975 in Ivano-Frankivsk a group called "Echo". The above mentioned groups are only the ones uncovered by the KGB, whose members were arrested, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and some executed. Total arrested amounted to more than sixty (60) individuals.

Simultaneously, those years (1957-1962) are considered the great turning period of the rebirth of Ukrainian national poetry, the poets known throughout under the name of "Sixtyevites" (shestydesyatyky), whose pioneer is considered Vasyl Symonenko.

Later, similar path to national rebirth was taken up by prose-writers, artists, scientists and other intellectual and cultural Ukrainian activists, who were shortly thereafter accused by Moscow of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and subjected to cruel repressions.

During this whole era, a separate and most important role in the new national rebirth was played by Ukrainian clergy.

However, the principal motor of the liberation struggle was and is Ukrainian nationalist underground.

Lviv newspaper "Lenin's Youth", May, 1974, maliciously accused OUN member Vasyl Malozhenskyj of broadening and spreading underground nationalist activities on territories of Vinnytsya, Ternopil and Rivne Regions up to 1967, namely the time that he was arrested. He is presently disseminating protests from the concentration camp.

In 1970 in Dniprodzherzhynsk, the KGB discovered one of the leading members of OUN Yuriy Boychuk, originally from Ternopil Region, who, using the name of Hranickyj, lived in Dniprodzherzhynsk, took correspondence courses at the local institute and simultaneously conducted nationalist activities among students and workers. (See Ternopil newspaper "Free Life", February 19, 20 and 21, 1970). When we consider the fact that in Dniprodzherzhynsk workers' strikes and youth protest against russification take place constantly, it serves as proof that members of OUN living there did a truly great job in national enlightenment among the population.

In 1971, engineer Volodymyr Dyak was arrested and accused of printing in a secret print shop in Lviv bulletins, pamphlets, etc., proclaiming therein the ideals of Ukrainian independence and transporting them to Kyiv and other cities for dissemination. (Letter from "T", dated November 27, 1972, "Victory Path", No. 31, 1972, and other materials).

At the time of mass repressions in Ukraine in 1971-1972, victims of which consisted of hundreds of activists of Ukrainian culture, science, clergy and representatives of other spheres of the population, more than twenty members of OUN were arrested, among them Kovalchuk, Chayka, Melnychuk, some others were sentenced to death and executed, the remainder were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

In 1972, in the Trans-Carpathian Region, the KGB discovered the brothers Yarema, who remained in the underground until that time, their later fate being unknown.

In the Ternopil Region, during the months at the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973, a long time active underground OUN member Stepan Panasyuk was arrested and sentenced to death. At the same time, Mykola Kulyk was arrested in Crimea and accused of armed resistance and nationalist activities.

In 1974, in the Odessa Region, KGB arrested senior OUN member V. Vorozhko, born in Volhyn, and in the Rivne Region another OUN member Mykola Potapchuk was uncovered, who, until his arrest, remained in the underground. Potapchuk had a lot of connections, in his free time he studied, painted and wrote texts of leaflets disseminated by other OUN members. He even married in the underground and became a father. (See Kyiv "Workers' Newspaper", No. 183, August 7, 1974).

"Soviet Ukraine" of March 29, 1977, wrote that in 1976, in Chernivtsi Region, the KGB discovered a group of OUN members, whose activities continued since the years immediately after World War II. This group was headed by *Ivan Novak*, a university graduate, who was sentenced to death. Other members of the group Havdun, Kushnyryk and the youthful Kretskyj were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The communist occupational newspaper "Youth Of Ukraine" of April 28, 1977, extensively described the fact that on February 2, 1977, in a forest near the village of Buhaivka, in the Rivne Region, MVD Inspector Yuriy Syzov was killed in an armed battle with a member of the underground. The same newspaper states that, prior thereto, three persons were killed and one seriously wounded in armed conflicts with underground members. To date, the names of the underground members have not been discovered by the KGB.

Various occupational periodicals, published in Ukrainian, including the "News From Ukraine", No. 40, September 28, 1978, with slanderous amplitude commented about a trial then taking place in Volhyn

Region of a long time OUN member M. H. Shelepyuk, who was accused of armed resistance lasting from the end of World War II and nationalist activities. He was sentenced to death.

Vast numbers of similar examples based on documentation could be noted, however, the above suffices to prove the accuracy of our statements that the OUN continues to be the principal element of the struggle for the renewal of Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State. It is essential to add that during the last ten years, facts are known about at least sixty uncovered and arrested members of OUN and UPA, who in one form or another were continuously active.

However, Russian occupational courts and the media most often accuse those OUN and UPA members of activities conducted only during and immediately following World War II, but actually the arrests are being made for their present day activities, some of their past activities having been discovered only during the trial proceedings. The Russian occupational forces constantly accuse all arrested OUN members of fabricated "crimes", such as terrorism, murder, cooperation or membership in foreign espionage establishments, etc., as exemplified by the trial proceedings of B. Chuyko. Similar stereotypes are used with reference to the whole OUN membership, and with time influence is beginning to be felt on some portion of the population of such constant repetition of these falsehoods. In addition, it is essential to note that most of the self-published (samvydav) materials from concentration camps are transmitted to the West through Moscow, where the dissemination is controlled and the contents censored by Russian dissidents. This results in the well known fact that said Russian dissidents either withhold or destroy all important documents, written by members of OUN and UPA and other patriots, in which the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA for renewal of Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State is accurately portrayed. Such was done with memoirs of N.N. and various other materials. Therefore, as the above undisputably indicates, the official Moscow establishment is being greatly helped by the unofficial Moscow, through its Russian dissidents, who being at least facsimilies of dissidents, wield either conscious or unconscious influence on our foes in the Western world. Also, it is a fact that a great number of self-published (samvydav) materials which is transmitted to the West is censored by the KGB itself. Therefore, if the sources of the origin and the route of transmission to the West of the self-published materials are not precisely validated and checked thoroughly, the accuracy of such self-published material should be considered with grave reservations.

The following additional facts could serve as testimony of the existence, activity and struggle of the national underground:

Each year, throughout different regions, of Ukraine, during the night, appear leaflets commemorating various national anniversaries, dates of deaths of Ukrainian heroes, appeals, proclamations, etc.

For example, in July 1973, there appeared an appeal of one underground group entitled "Ukraine Demands Help". ("Victory Path", No. 36, 1973).

In March, 1975, in Ukraine a leaflet was disseminated commemorating the heroic death of General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of UPA. ("Ukrainian Thought", No. 29, 1975).

In summer of 1975, another leaflet was being disseminated containing information about the Fifth Great Assembly of OUN having taken place in the West.

In 1976, an underground pamphlet was being distributed with an appeal for struggle for "Independent Ukraine". (Ukrainian Central Information Service, No. 3/40, June 1, 1976).

As we know from the press, during 1979 in Ukraine there was mass dissemination of two leaflets, the first containing an appeal to the Ukrainian youth, and the other referring to the murdered composer Ivasyuk. ("Ukrainian Thought", No. 45, 1979; "Liberation Path", No. 2, 1979, p. 185).

In addition to the above, each year, during the night, Ukrainian national flags are hoisted, tridents are engraved in prominent places, holidays and celebrations arranged by Russian occupational forces are disrupted and sabotaged. There are incidents of physical liquidation of particularly cruel representatives of Russian occupational forces and numerous beatings of others.

Also, in addition to strikes and disruptions of production, there often occur mass demonstrations, due to different reasons, such as the commemoration of the birthday of Ukraine's greatest poet Taras Shevchenko, during funerals of Ukrainian patriots killed by the KGB, and even during the unveiling of various monuments, such as the unveiling in Lviv of monument to Stefanyk, etc.

Lately, more and more workers are massively joining this liberation struggle, attempting to establish their independent trade unions. The same is true in connection with scientific intelligentsia and other spheres of the population.

In addition to the above mentioned, the underground in Ukraine is conducting yet another kind of far-reaching political activity, which also manifests itself on another plane of open resistance movement and professes the following universal positions: It condemns Russian colonialism for its destructive assimilation policy with reference to the Baltic and other enslaved nations; it defends Jews and other minorities; it censures russification, transmixing and deportation of nations and transferring onto their national territories of Russians: it condemns and fights racism, chauvinism and colonialism of the reigning Russian nation; it demands freedom and independence for all enslaved nations, re-examination of their territorial spheres of influence, and the establishment of exact nationally-ethnographic borders of each nation, etc.

These and other similar ideals and matters were taken up back in 1943 at a conference of representatives of enslaved nations in Ukraine, which was organized by OUN leadership and UPA command, creating the universal slogan "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual", which was the beginning of the formation of Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (ABN). As we see, these ideals still exist and grow today in Ukraine, and continue to find their embodiment in proclamations of Fighting Ukraine and, of course, in ABN cadres.

The righteousness of the ideological positions of ABN is also confirmed by political prisoners, for example:

In a proclamation entitled "Second Decade Of Solidarity Of Political Prisoners In The Struggle Against Soviet-Russian Colonialism", April 4, 1979, which was signed by Ukrainians, Armenians, Jews and others, they clearly underline their solidarity with the yearly commemoration of "Captive Nations Week", organized in the West by ABN, and simultaneously they demand the dissolution of the Russian empire and re-establishment of national independence for all presently enslaved nations.

Previously, similar proclamation entitled "Message Of Political Prisoners" was signed by representatives of Ukraine, the Baltic nations, and the Caucasian nations. Signatories on behalf of Ukraine were such famous freedom fighters as Y. Shukhevych, L. Lukyanenko, O. Tykhyj and others. There are many, many more similar documents. ("Liberation Path", No. 2, 1980, and other sources).

Freedom fighters in Ukraine are convinced that ABN has enormous prospects in the near future with its conception, taking place during the downfall of the Russian empire, of re-establishment and security of independent national states and guarantee of just peace on these geo-political territories.

The underground Ukraine also clearly states its position with reference to, and aids as much as possible, the repressed national Churches and their faithful, clearly asserting the right of an individual's religious belief according to his conscience.

Ukrainian underground not only defends and helps our national Churches in Ukraine, but at the same time supports the establishment of Patriarchate. For example, in one of the "Documents Of Liberation Struggle In Ukraine", these patriots state: "We wholeheartedly support the efforts in pursuit of the establishment of Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the leadership of Patriarch Yosyf I (Slipyj) and wish you the greatest success in this endeavour". (Bulletin of OUN Leadership, No. 18, 1977, p. 59).

In the above mentioned document, the underground also appraises Russian dissidents and at the same time warns Ukrainians that said Russian dissidents, although undermining the present regime, fight for and emphatically uphold the following position: "The politics of (Russian) dissidents are the continuation of the policy of tsars and present Kremlin leadership to insure the status quo borders of the

empire and to continue its further expansion under the hegemony of the ruling Russian nation . . .”

These and numerous other documents clearly prove that the views of Petro Hryhorenko, Leonid Plyushch and other similar individuals or groupings regarding the Russian nation are strictly subjective, have nothing in common with the views of Ukrainian national patriots and do not give those individuals any bases to represent the present Ukrainian resistance movement in these or any other matters.

From the above text, which is based exclusively on documented sources, in many instances obtained from enemy materials, it is as clear as day that the chief motive power of the liberation processes in Ukraine through this date is the deeply secreted underground and its members. Periodically, miniscule parts of said underground, its membership, activities and struggle become known through their discovery by the enemy, or in the event it becomes necessary to disseminate such information for strategically political propaganda purposes.

Therefore, it seems most strange, even suspicious, when some Ukrainians, consciously or subconsciously, remain mute about or belittle the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA-UHVR in Ukraine, who for more than fifty years stood and stand as vanguards and creators of the most glorious pages of our current history. This could also be said of some of the dissidents. If in fact they, due to different reasons, did not have a chance to personally encounter participants of the liberation struggle, they assuredly had and have every opportunity to learn about said liberation struggle from Russian enemy sources.

Every single year, Russians publish between two hundred (200) and two hundred and fifty (250) different pseudo-intellectual defamatory articles, pamphlets, analyses, and even thick volumes, against the Banderist movement, using even involuntary scientists as authors. The facts speak for themselves, namely who is the motive power of the liberation struggle in Ukraine, who causes Russia sleepless nights, etc.

Summary of Current Activities in Ukraine

Last year, the events in Ukraine progressed on two principal planes yet with numerous ramifications.

On the one hand, seemingly undefeatable Russian occupational apparatus is continuing to operate with strengthening onslaught, attempting to destroy the roots of everything Ukrainian.

On the other hand, as from underneath the earth, the unstoppable sun's rays of the resistance movement break through, against which the KGB uses cruel retribution.

Even foreign commentators confirm that Russia uses the harshest repressive strikes against Ukraine.

It is well known that recently Russia is pursuing a completely open

policy of full russification of all categories of education in enslaved nations.

All phases of art, literature, science, etc. become not only Party extensions, but simultaneously are constantly being purged of any sort of Ukrainian national or traditional identity and systematically russified.

Recently, the intermixing of different nationalities has been strengthened to an extreme degree in an attempt to create one great Russian nation, said intermixing being interpreted as "the creation of a new historical society — Soviet nation", speaking only Russian language and being formulated upon Russian culture and Russian traditions.

In 1979, as well as during previous years, tens of thousands of young men and women, under strong pressure from Komsomol and other governmental agencies, were exiled to different parts of the U.S.S.R., their place in Ukraine being taken by Russian nationals and russified members of other republics.

At the same time, artists, different specialists and other highly qualified personnel were transferred out of Ukraine for the fictitious reason of "helping brotherly republics", their places also being taken by Russian nationals, in order to accelerate the process of russification of enslaved nations.

Ukrainian patriots clearly realize the danger to Ukraine in intermixing of nationalities and intensified russification. For this reason, they are activating widespread resistance movement to these governmental policies.

Those patriots are strengthened by the fact that the inherent resistance of Ukrainians has proven itself so strong, all Russian pressures only provoking even stronger reaction by nationally activating all spheres of the population to struggle for their rights and independence. In these instances, as in all others, the leading role is played by the nationalist underground.

Insofar as the KGB organs are unable to accomplish a cessation of the struggle of the liberation movement, particularly the underground, through its methods of arrest, terror and repression, they fall back upon "secret" furtive murders. From the known facts, which, of course, are far from complete, we learned that during 1979 only KGB agents secretly murdered four Ukrainian patriots, two of whom were OUN members Kaznovskyj and Zhurakivskyj, and later Melnyk and Ivasyuk.

Last year, thirty Ukrainian patriots were arrested, their sentences ranging from three to fifteen years of incarceration. Among those arrested, we know of three persons, who were previously tried for cooperation and/or direct participation in the liberation movement of OUN-UPA, V. Sichko, V. Strilciv and Y. Lytvyn.

Before the departure of Soviet sportsmen for the Winter Olympics in U.S.A. this year, the KGB ran a most exhaustive check on all

nationally conscious Ukrainian sportsmen, the questionable ones were than deleted from the list of the ones going and substituted by "loyal" individuals, even going so far as to arrest sportsmen brothers Mykola and Valentyn Paperiv.

In connection with preparation for Moscow Olympics and the aggressive invasion of Afghanistan, the repressions were greatly strengthened. Political prisoners were transferred from the infamous Volodymyr prison in Moscow to Chystopolk prison in the Tartar A.S.S.R., and the prison regime was increased in severity and strictness, the more active patriots in concentration camps like Osadchyj, Chornovil and others having been threatened with additional terms of imprisonment.

In Ukraine many national patriots are being threatened by the KGB with imprisonment if they do not cease their activities. Some of them are under house arrest, many were physically beaten up on the streets by KGB agents. Cruel repressions are being applied to clergy and the faithful.

Also, the Kyiv Helsinki Group is being systematically devastated. True that new members are constantly joining the Group, however, they are unable to conduct any activities for any length of time, due to the fact that after their first public appearance, the KGB easily eliminates them from the scene. Sometimes it seems that the purpose for the existence of the Helsinki Group is to expose Ukrainian patriots. These same persons might have conducted much longer lasting and more useful activities in the underground, like those conducted by Baltic groups, since secret underground activities greatly hamper governmental organs in finding members of said underground and uncovering their movements, in contrast to the complete ease of KGB operations relative to members of open Helsinki Groups.

In addition, until the time of emergence of the Helsinki Group in 1976, complete national unity reigned in the national resistance movement, whose members conducted their activities openly or semi-openly under the name of "Ukrainian public", and this movement spontaneously supplemented the activities of the wholly nationalist underground. However, from the time of the emergence of the Helsinki Group, the open and semi-open resistance movement actually split into two factions, and this dangerous ferment simultaneously transferred itself to the West in persons of P. Hryhorenko, L. Plyushch and their followers, taking on destructive forms.

Attack of Russia upon the independence of the Ukrainian nation at the same time inflates, activates and increases the strength of the national resistance to the invaders. This is confirmed by facts of the massive boycott of Russian commemorative celebration of the 325th anniversary of their first invasion of Ukraine, which they cynically call "unification of Ukraine with Russia", the mass demands for re-opening of Churches and return to ancestral beliefs and national traditions, the refusal of youth to "voluntarily" be transferred to

various governmental projects from Ukraine to inner U.S.S.R. territories, the appearance of vast number of underground leaflets and appeals, the mass demonstration during the funeral of composer Ivasyuk murdered by the KGB, the attempt to organize a union of political prisoners, work stoppages in industry and agriculture, and many, many more.

All of the above clearly indicate that the liberation struggle is not weakening, on the contrary, it is growing stronger. Cultural, scientific and other intellectuals from the open resistance movement, under the influence of activities of the nationalist underground, are constantly shifting their positions to an ideological platform with a clear, uncompromising demand for decolonization, namely disintegration, of Russian empire and the renewal of Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State, which is evidenced by their numerous appeals and proclamations, regardless of the fact whether they are "free" or incarcerated.

Based on the above, we see that in Ukraine, on all levels, persistent, stubborn and unrelenting liberation struggle is continuing, which demands from us not only that we should learn everything possible about it, but also join, widen and strengthen it. The above facts also show us the tremendous tasks before our OUN cadres in the West, who conscientiously and honestly should fulfill their historic mission so that our liberation struggle will be crowned in final victory over Russia and the renewal and security of Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State!

(Translated from Ukrainian by
Zena Matla-Rychtycka)

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Andrew SOROKOWSKI

GUILTY BY BIRTH

The article below concerns the 46-year-old Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych who has spent 27 years in Soviet prisons and concentration camps because his father was the leader of the anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Recently the campaign for Yuriy Shukhevych's release has intensified. The Australian Government has offered Yuriy Shukhevych and his family residence visas. The article below was first published in *Barrister Magazine* which serves the American Bar Association and reflects the increasing concern and support for Yuriy Shukhevych's plight.

Andrew Sorokowski writes that he first became aware of the Shukhevych case in the winter of 1973 whilst living in Munich, Germany.

"Some students of my acquaintance (also of Ukrainian origin) were organizing a public hunger-strike in support of Soviet prisoners of conscience. One of their posters showed Yuriy Shukhevych with his son, under the caption "This Man is Guilty by Birth". It outlined his life story, and quoted from his letter to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic.

While I was immediately struck by the injustice of Yuriy's predicament, it was only years later . . . that I was able to translate it into legal terms. It seemed a classic case of guilt by association — a concept incompatible with fundamental legality as it is understood in most modern countries. I decided that it merited the attention of the legal community.

The principal sources on the Shukhevych case are the Ukrainian underground journal known as the "Ukrainian Herald", documents compiled by Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil in *The Chornovil Papers*, and Yuriy's own letter to the chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, copies of all were smuggled out of the USSR and published abroad.

To reconstruct the events of Yuriy Shukhevych's life is not easy. Sources are few (I believe I have exhausted them) and occasionally inconsistent. Official trial records are unavailable, and it is difficult to obtain information about "dissidents" from the USSR. One reason for the scarcity of material on this particular case is that for a prisoner of conscience, Yuriy Shukhevych is unusually quiet and apolitical. Dissident sources give him little attention because unlike most prisoners of conscience, he is imprisoned primarily by virtue of his identity rather than for his words or acts. This, of course, only magnifies the illegality of his confinement".

GUILTY BY BIRTH

He was born in 1933 in Lviv, the principal city of the western Ukrainian province of Halychyna, then under Polish administration. His father, Roman Shukhevych, was a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), dedicated to the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state (the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic had been partitioned by Poland and Soviet Russia in 1921). During World War II, an underground Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed to resist the Nazi and, from 1944, the Soviet occupation. For five years after the end of the war Roman Shukhevych, as commanding officer, continued the struggle in the mountainous southwestern borderlands of the USSR.

Yuriy Shukhevych was 11 years old when the advancing Red Army reached Halychyna. The Soviet authorities deported his mother and executed his uncle. In August 1948, they arrested Yuriy himself and sought to compel him to publicly denounce his father, whose forces were then engaged in guerrilla warfare with Soviet troops in the Carpathian Mountains. Yuriy refused. On August 22, 1949, the 16-year-old boy was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a three-man "special council" of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These "troikas" were empowered to arrest, investigate, try, convict and sentence persons suspected of political opposition. The summary proceedings were held in secret, without the presence of the accused or counsel, independent of court or code, with no right of appeal.

On March 5, 1950, Roman Shukhevych was killed when his forces were surrounded by Soviet security troops at Bilohorshcha, a village near Lviv. Yuriy was brought to the city to identify the body of his father, then returned to prison.

Stalin's death in March 1953 and Khrushchev's condemnation of past illegalities at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 offered some hope for Yuriy Shukhevych. In April 1956, a court at Vladimir, in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) held that inasmuch as the "special councils" had been declared illegal, and in light of a decree allowing release of those convicted of crimes committed under the age of 18 (decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 24, 1954), Yuriy's sentence was invalid. He was duly released.

However, the Procurator-General of the USSR, Roman Rudenko, intervened in the case and appealed the court's decision. Alleging that Shukhevych had tried to contact an OUN centre abroad, and pointing out that Shukhevych was the son of a man who had taken up arms against the Soviet state, Rudenko, in his supervisory capacity as guardian of socialist legality, had Yuriy rearrested to serve the rest of his 10-year term.

Shortly before his term was to expire, Yuriy was approached by Lieutenant Halski of the security police, who was reputed to have

participated in the fabrication of cases and the murdering of prisoners in the last years of the war. Halski proposed that Yuriy publicly denounce his father and his national liberation movement. Yuriy refused.

Halski then provided the prisoner with two new cell-mates. Alexander Fomchenko had been sentenced in 1947 to 25 years for robbery, and in 1951 to another 25 years for anti-Soviet political activity. Burkov from Voronezh had been sentenced to 10 years for cutting a man's throat with a razor. In return for their cooperation, they were promised the relatively mild conditions of a labour camp.

Release and rearrested

Several days before Yuriy was to be released, Burkov signed a grievance to the Procuracy, complaining of Shukhevych's anti-Soviet agitation among the prisoners and protesting his impending release. On August 21, 1958, Yuriy was released and was immediately rearrested on charge of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. The police confiscated some copies of works by Olha Ilkiv, a poetess who had been sentenced for membership in the OUN, and added them to his dossier as incriminating evidence.

As is customary in political cases, the pretrial investigation was carried out by the state security police. Under Halski's supervision, the case was transferred to Lviv and conducted by a Captain Vinogradov, who in Stalinist days had become notorious for beating and torturing prisoners.

The trial was held in secret. Although Soviet law requires that the accused be tried by a court of the region where the crime was committed, Shukhevych's trial was held in Lviv rather than Vladimir, perhaps in order to fully exploit its exemplary value in that hotbed of separatism.

The star witnesses for the prosecution were Burkov and Fomchenko. Unfortunately, their testimonies were confused and inconsistent. Prosecutor Koliashnikov, as well as the court, had to prompt them repeatedly. Even so, the prosecution could offer but scanty evidence. For example, testimony that Shukhevych had been studying foreign languages in his cell was offered to prove his intent to flee the country.

Because the appointed defence counsel, one Smirnova, did not study the case until just before the trial, Shukhevych requested permission to conduct his own defense. The court ignored his request. To refute the testimonies of Burkov and Fomchenko, Shukhevych had obtained 12 witnesses. None was permitted to testify. Nor was the accused allowed to question the witnesses for the prosecution.

On Dec. 1, 1958, Yuriy Shukhevych was convicted of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and sentenced to another 10-year term and five years' exile.

Later that month, he was summoned before Lieutenant Halski, who cynically admitted to the fabrication of evidence, but pointed out candidly that "with your views and convictions, we cannot set you free". He suggested that Shukhevych hold a press conference and prepare a pamphlet or radio broadcast condemning his father's activities. In return, Halski promised a review of the sentence and release from prison. Yuriy again refused. He was thereupon dispatched to a labour camp in the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

During the next 10 years, Yuriy Shukhevych was given several more opportunities to recant. In 1961, he was brought back to Lviv for further discussions with Halski.

In 1963, he was transferred from the Mordovian labour camp to the investigative prison of the Committee of State Security (KGB) in Kyiv. Security officials began taking him on trips to museums, theaters, factories and nearby towns. After several months of intermittent exposure to the amenities of civilian life, Yuri Shukhevych was summoned in July 1964 before Colonel Kalash, Captain Lytwyn and Captain Merkatanenko of the Kyiv KGB. He again was offered an opportunity to regain his freedom. He need only make a declaration, to be published in the press, renouncing "nationalist ideas". Shukhevych asked whether it would not suffice to renounce anti-Soviet activity as such. That, after all, was the legal basis of his conviction. But the officers replied that this would not do. He would have to condemn his father and all that he stood for. Yuriy refused. The KGB men then took a conciliatory position, proposing that he merely write an article for the press describing his journey through the country. Colonel Kalash indicated that the KGB could thus secure his pardon. But Shukhevych, perhaps sensing an attempt to make gradual inroads on his integrity, refused to cooperate. He was returned to the Mordovian camps.

In July 1965, Yuriy Shukhevych was called in to see Captain Krut of the local KGB. Krut proposed that he send a petition for pardon to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. As Shukhevych later explained, this tactic, based on the premise that an innocent person does not seek pardon, was aimed at supplementing



an inconclusive dossier with an admission of guilt. Indeed, Captain Lytvyyn had remarked in Kyiv that the Lviv KGB had done a poor job of preparing the case. But Shukhevych declined to help them out.

Instead, on July 28, 1967, he sent the chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet an open letter reciting the facts of his case, and pointed out specific instances of illegality in both his first and second convictions. He continued in these words:

"Of my 34 years I have spent 19 in prison . . .

" . . . I long ago ceased to believe in a proclaimed justice and legality which I have never seen embodied in real life.

"Therefore I turn to you now, when only one year remains before my second term of imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and vindicate justice trampled underfoot . . .

"I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me. The security police will again fabricate a new case to have me sentenced for the third time".

In concluding, he explained the purpose of his letter.

"This was the reason that prompted me to address myself to you: so that you should know these things, and that later . . . you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for similar actions by the KGB".

On August 21, 1968, Shukhevych was released from the labour camp and then sent to the Caucasian town of Nal'chik, Kabardin-Balkar ASSR, to serve his five-year term of exile. He found work as an electrician, married, and had two children: a son, Roman, born in 1970 and a daughter, Iryna, born in 1972. He also began work on his memoirs.

In February 1972, Yuriy Shukhevych was arrested and charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (corresponding to Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code). Accused of "nationalist activity" (namely, writing his memoirs), he was tried in Kyiv behind closed doors, and in September 1972, convicted. The court handed down the maximum sentence for a recidivist: five years in prison, five years under strict regime in a labour camp, and five years in exile. His prediction had proven correct.

Today, Yuriy Shukhevych remains a prisoner. According to underground reports, he is suffering from an untreated duodenal ulcer, no doubt exacerbated by the punitive dietary restrictions of "strict regime" confinement. This is not an unusual condition among prison camp inmates; the poet Yuriy Galanskov was deprived by the labour camp administration of a proper diet and medical attention for his

duodenal ulcer for the greater part of a year until the ulcer burst, precipitating his death on Nov. 4, 1972.

The illegality of Shukhevych's imprisonment

Under international as well as Soviet law, each of Yuriy Shukhevych's three convictions was illegal. On Dec. 10, 1948 — while the 16-year-old boy was confined in pretrial detention — the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (G.A. Res. 217A (III), U.N. Doc. A/811). Article 11 (2) states that "No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed".

Whatever may have been the penal offences with which Shukhevych was charged, he was in fact held guilty on account of his "omission" to denounce his father. This obviously does not constitute a penal offence under national or international law.

It follows then, that Yuriy's arrests, detentions and exile were all "arbitrary" in violation of Article 9 of the Declaration. Nor did his closed trials conform with Article 10, which requires a "fair and public hearing" by an "independent and impartial tribunal".

Moreover, his first trial, and the attempts to extort a denunciation of his father, violated Article 16 (3), which declares that the family is entitled to the protection of the State. His last trial, based principally on the offence of writing his memoirs, violated the right to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" guaranteed by Article 19.

One need not rely solely on international law, however, to demonstrate the illegality of Yuriy Shukhevych's convictions. Soviet law itself provides ample guarantees of the rights of the accused, some of which mirror international human rights standards.

True, the 1926 RSFSR Criminal Code, in effect at the time of Yuriy's first and second trials (and largely duplicated by the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR), permitted conviction and sentencing of a political suspect who had committed no crime whatsoever. Political considerations took the place of proven guilt. Indeed, under Article 17 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, one could be found guilty as an accomplice without a showing of criminal intent. One could in effect be punished for mere association with politically undesirable elements.

Even under such questionable laws, however, Yuriy's first conviction was improper. The "special council" that conducted his trial was later declared an illegal institution. But even a legitimate court could not have proven him guilty by association with a criminal. His father was never convicted of any crime by a Soviet court — in fact, he was not even a Soviet citizen subject to the jurisdiction of ordinary

criminal courts, but an enemy combatant. There was thus no proven "guilt" to be imputed to his son. And it is hardly conceivable that a 15-year-old boy could himself have been so "socially dangerous" under the Criminal Code as to merit 10 years' imprisonment.

Yuriy's second conviction, handed down 24 days before the criminal law reform embodied in the new Fundamental Principles of Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure (FPCL and FPCP) was enacted, was invalid on several grounds. First, the Procuracy, established pursuant to Article 1913-1917 of the 1936 Constitution and regulated by the 1955 Statute on Procuratorial Supervision as a guardian of legality, hardly fulfilled its proper role. It attacked the perfectly valid decision of the Vladimir regional court to free Yuriy under the post-Stalinist law reforms, and then indicted him on the basis of fabricated evidence.

Second, holding the trial in Lviv rather than Vladimir clearly violated the rule that trial is to be held in the court of the region where the crime was committed [RRP RSFSR (1923) art. 29]. In fact, under the Code, transfer to another court was permitted only when the defendant would thereby receive a more dispassionate examination of his case (*id.* art. 30). Here, the opposite was true.

Third, the right to defence counsel, guaranteed by Article 111 of the 1936 Constitution, was effectively denied because Yuriy's attorney did not have time to properly study the case. The Supreme Court of the USSR had ruled in the *Romaniuk* case of Nov. 29, 1950, that where the defence attorney had only a half hour to study the case, the constitutional right to counsel had not been respected. Although Supreme Court decisions do not have precedential value in the USSR, this case set a reasonable standard.

Fourth, Yuriy was denied the right to examine witnesses [CCP RSFSR (1923) art. 283].

Fifth, aside from the fact that the evidence was fabricated, it is difficult to see how any activity behind bars could constitute such "counterrevolutionary crimes" (CC RSFSR (1923) ch. I, sec. 1) or "socially dangerous activity" (*id.* art. 6) as to require punishment through the severe "measures of social defence" (*id.* art. 10) outlined in the Code.

Sixth, even under the theory of guilt by association, Yuriy's possession of some works by an imprisoned poetess could hardly constitute criminal association. While under Article 58 (10) the mere possession of literature constituting "agitation or propaganda calling for the weakening of Soviet rule" could be punished as a counter-revolutionary crime, the lyrical poems of Olha Ilkiv were not of this nature.

Finally, assuming for the sake of argument that Yuriy really did openly advocate the most revolutionary of his father's ideas — the national liberation of the Ukrainian people — he would only have been advancing a basic Soviet constitutional principle: the right of

each Republic to secede from the Union (1936 Constitution, art. 17; 1977 Constitution, art 72).

If his first two convictions were illegal under the harsh Stalinist statutes, Yuriy's 1972 conviction, under the relatively liberal 1958 Fundamental Principles and their statutory progeny, was a travesty of the law.

Guilt by Association

First, since the 1960 RSFSR Criminal Code and its companion republican codes had abolished the category of political offences, Yuriy's trial should have been conducted without regard for political factors. This seems not to have been the case. Second, Article 17 of the Fundamental Principles of Criminal Law abolished guilt by association, declaring that one cannot be considered an accomplice to the acts of one's associate without the requisite intent. Yuriy thus could no longer be punished for the acts of another without proof that he intended to participate therein. Third, under Article 3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, one may only be sentenced if one has been tried in a court of law and found guilty of an act specifically designated a crime at the time of its commission (see also FPCL, art. 3; FPCP, art. 4). Whether writing one's memoirs can be considered an act specifically designated by law as a crime depends on an interpretation of Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

At first glance Article 70, covering "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", seems nearly as broad as its notorious predecessor, Article 58 of the 1926 Criminal Code. For example, it permits the punishment of one who has merely prepared or kept in his possession literature containing "slandorous fabrications" defaming the Soviet state and social system "for the purpose of subverting or weakening the Soviet regime". As the "purpose" clause implies, however, and as Soviet commentators have noted, this crime requires an element of anti-Soviet intent. Thus, Shukhevych could only have been guilty if he wrote his memoirs with intent to subvert or weaken the Soviet regime. But his apparent willingness, in his July 1964 conversations with the officers of the Kyiv KGB, to publicly renounce all anti-Soviet activity tends to show a lack of anti-Soviet intent on his part. Nor does it seem likely that personal memoirs, which tend to be purely factual and in any case deal with past conditions, would constitute defamation of the Soviet state designed to weaken or subvert it. In any case, it would seem that the writing of memoirs was protected by Article 125 of the 1936 USSR Constitution (Article 50 of the 1977 Constitution), guaranteeing freedom of speech.

Yuriy Shukhevych's "crime" lies not in anything he has done, but in who he is. He has been designated a political symbol, and punished as an object lesson for the edification of the Soviet masses.

If a discussion of these legal issues strikes us as irrelevant, perhaps it is because we have resigned ourselves to the idea that in the USSR the rule of law cannot prevail. Yet when we simultaneously seek to broaden our commercial, diplomatic and cultural relations with the Soviet government, such resignation takes on a shade of hypocrisy. No lawyer may accept the rule of terror so complacently. None can preserve his rights long while condoning their denial to another. Yuriy Shukhevych deserves our rights. If we choose to remain silent, we deserve only his.

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CONGRESSMAN IN DEFENCE OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations in Chicago and vicinity, at the initiative of Ulana Celewycz-Steciuk, President of the Executive Board of Women's Association for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. and Chairperson of the Chicago Branch of American Friends of ABN, held a Reception on May 18, 1980 for Congressman Henry J. Hyde, staunch defender of Yuriy Shukhevych. At the Reception, which was attended by more than two hundred persons, the participants appealed to Congressman Hyde for his aid in defence and release of Yuriy Shukhevych, by transmitting to him a Resolution for presentation to the U.S. House of Representative.

True to his promise, Congressman Hyde, on May 22, 1980, presented to the U.S. House of Representatives two separate Resolutions dealing with Yuriy Shukhevych, preceded by his very moving remarks. Below follows an excerpt from the Congressional Record of Proceedings and Debates of the 96th Congress, Second Session, dated Thursday, May 22, 1980, Vol. 126, No. 84, pp. E2580 and E22581:

"YURIY SHUKHEVYCH: UKRAINIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1980

Mr. Hyde. Mr. Speaker, on May 18, 1980, I had the honour to speak at a gathering of Ukrainian Americans in Chicago, Ill., honouring Yuriy Shukhevych, who will soon have completed 30 years in Soviet prisons. His crime? Refusal to denounce his late father Roman Shukhevych, who led the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This heroic army fought the Nazis in World War II and continued to fight Soviet forces occupying Ukraine.

In the civilized world, love and respect are due one's parents. While opposition to Soviet occupation may not endear General Shukhevych or his son Yuriy to the Communist government, the loyalty and honour displayed by Yuriy Shukhevych are heroism of the highest order.

May all freedom-loving people in the world learn of and acknowledge the greatness of his sacrifice, and be encouraged to resist Communist tyranny by his brave example.

A resolution was adopted and presented to me and I take this opportunity to share it with my colleagues:

RESOLUTION

Whereas basic human rights and fundamental freedoms have long been recognized as having valid universal significance and are currently a subject of pressing international concern, and

Whereas these basic rights are spelled out in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and

Whereas the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has given a new dimension to the humanitarian principles these covenants embody by reaffirming each state-signatory's right to be concerned with the manner in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and implemented by all other signatories, and

Whereas the President of the United States has expressed his deep concern and commitment to human rights in the world, and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych has been incarcerated in Soviet prisons for almost thirty years merely for his refusal to denounce his father who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fought the occupation of Ukraine, and

Whereas the harsh treatment and severe sentence of Yuriy Shukhevych reaffirms that a system of repression exists in the Soviet Union and this fact greatly concerns the people of the United States; Now, therefore, be and it is hereby

Resolved, That we, Ukrainian Americans of Illinois, gathered at this meeting on May 18, 1980 to express our concern for the inhumane treatment and long sentence in Soviet prisons of Yuriy Shukhevych, respectfully petition members of the United States Congress, the Department of State and the President of the United States to use every means available to obtain the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment and request that an exit visa for him and his family be granted.

Mr. Speaker. in addition, another resolution was adopted urging President Carter to actively seek the release of Yuriy Shukhevych. This resolution, which I have sent to the President, is as follows:

RESOLUTION

Memorializing President Jimmy Carter to open negotiations with the Soviet Union for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment and granting him and his family political asylum within the United States

Whereas when our forefathers put themselves to the task of devising a fundamental law for the brand new nation they were creating, they displayed unity of purpose and large breadth of vision; and

Whereas the words freedom and liberty signified for them and mankind one of the most precious and desirable commodities; and

Whereas freedom and liberty always refer to interhuman relations and a man is free as far as he can live, create and get on without being at the mercy of an arbitrary government; and

Whereas the President of the United States has espoused the concepts of our founding fathers, has expressed his deep concern and commitment to human rights in the world, and has recently successfully negotiated the release of five political prisoners from the Soviet Union; and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych who has been incarcerated in Soviet prisons for almost thirty years is a clear example of a prisoner of conscience; and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych, who, as a thirteen year old lad, has not buckled under severe pressure to renounce his Ukrainian nationality and stood steadfast in his resolve not to denounce his heroic father who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fought the occupation of Ukraine; and

Whereas the harsh treatment of individuals such as Yuriy Shukhevych once again reaffirms that a system of repression exists in the Soviet Union and this fact greatly concerns the people of the United States of America; and

Whereas the alleged "crimes" of Yuriy Shukhevych cannot be considered as crimes in civilized society and free people must call upon world opinion to halt these flagrant abuses against political dissidents; and

Whereas experience teaches that cooperative action is more efficient and productive than isolated actions and free people must unite against Russian aggressive forces now attempting to encircle the globe reaching for the jugular vein of the free world: Now, therefore, be and it is hereby

Resolved, That the Ukrainian Americans of Illinois respectfully memorialize President Jimmy Carter to immediately open negotiations with the Soviet Union to seek the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment by requesting that an exit visa for him and his family be granted and to extend to them political asylum in the United States; and be it further

Newsbrief

KGB USED TOXIC GAS IN UKRAINE

Pastor Georgi Vins, one of the political prisoners exchanged for Soviet Russian spies last year, has said the KGB used toxic gas to break up a religious gathering in August, 1979.

The incident happened as 150 Baptists held a secret religious meeting. KGB men threw a cannister of gas in to the crowd after an order to disperse had been ignored. It caused vomiting, discomfort and unconsciousness.

Pastor Vins, who was formerly a minister of the Evangelical Baptist Church in Kyiv, disclosed the gas attack whilst on a trip to London earlier this year to publicise the plight of Christians in the USSR. He met Minister Margaret Thatcher whilst in Britain.

AMERICAN LAWYERS DEMAND FREEDOM FOR LEV LUKYANENKO

A petition demanding the release of Ukrainian political prisoner Lev Lukyanenko has been signed by 250 eminent American lawyers.

The petition was sent to the chief procurator of the Ukrainian SSR earlier this year.

The lawyer said the handling of Lukyanenko's case was illegal by even the norms of Soviet law and certainly breached the USSR's obligations with respect to international law.

Lev Lukyanenko, aged 53, was first sentenced in 1961 for making out a case for Ukraine's independence from Soviet Russian rule. He was imprisoned for 15 years after his death sentence was commuted.

He was released but re-arrested in 1978 for membership of the Ukrainian Public Group Monitoring the Helsinki Accords. Lukyanenko, himself a lawyer, was sentenced to another 15 years imprisonment.

IMMIGRATION HISTORY CENTRE APPOINTS UKRAINIAN CONSULTANT

The Immigration History Research Centre, based at the University of Minnesota, USA, has appointed Dr. Myron Kuropas as a consultant to serve as liaison with ethnic groups.

Dr. Kuropas is a former special assistant to President Ford for ethnic affairs. He joins the IHRC as consultant in Ukrainian American studies.

Dr. Kuropas has carried out research at the centre and is familiar with its work and plans for the future. He will help develop the centre's collections, provide advice regarding research need and help interpret the IHRC to the ethnic communities.

CAMPAIGN IN DEFENCE OF OKSANA POPOWYCH

Ukrainians in the Free World have mounted a campaign to free Ukrainian political prisoner Oksana Popowych at present incarcerated in a Soviet Russian concentration camp.

The campaigners are urging concerned people to send postcards to the chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Commission demanding him to put pressure on the Soviet Russian authorities to effect her release.

Oksana Popowych was born 2 February, 1926 in the village of Zhukiw, County of Horodenka, in Western Ukraine. Both of her parents were teachers. Her father was also a prominent civic leader and member of the Board of Directors of the village savings and loan association.

Oksana graduated from elementary school in her village, and completed her high school education in the city of Horodenka. There in 1944, she was arrested for the first time and sentenced to ten years of concentration camp imprisonment by the newly arrived in Western Ukraine Russian occupational forces. During the arrest, she tried unsuccessfully to escape, which resulted in her being severely wounded in the leg by gunshots.

She was transferred to the concentration camp with open wounds in her leg. In the camp, she received no medical attention, her wounds healing superficially. After having served the full ten-year term of her sentence, she lived with her mother (who is presently ninety-four years old) in Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine, where she worked as a bookkeeper, during evenings attempting to further her education.

In 1974, she submitted to an unsuccessful operation upon her leg, and was again arrested, by being taken straight from the hospital on crutches, hardly conscious. This time she was sentenced to eight years of concentration camp imprisonment and five years of exile. Her "crime" was helping families of Ukrainian political prisoners and taking part in "Samvydav" (self-publishing) activities. Presently her health is deteriorating rapidly, resulting from the fact that Russian authorities are denying her any medical attention whatsoever.

BBC BROADCASTS IN UKRAINIAN URGED

A British Member of Parliament, Mr. Maurice Macmillan, has urged the Prime Minister to ask the BBC to start broadcasts in Ukrainian as part of the BBC's External Service programming.

Mr. Macmillan made the request during a Parliamentary debate on the invasion of Afganistan. He told Mrs. Thatcher the Ukrainian language should be considered after her declared intention to flood the Soviet Union with propaganda.

The British Government has stepped up the broadcasting time for BBC programmes transmitted to the Soviet Union in the wake of

the invasion but so far attempts to introduce Ukrainian-language broadcasts have not met with success.

The BBC Russian Service attracts a large number of listeners in the Soviet Union who rely on it as a source of objective information which helps to make up some of the gaps left by the censored and distorted Soviet puppet-journalism.

The service is a constant thorn in the side of the Soviet Russian Government which regularly delivers hysterical outbursts about it.

UKRAINIAN-AFGHAN OLYMPIC DEMONSTRATION

About 100 Ukrainian and Afghan demonstrators took part in a protest outside the Soviet consulate in London, England, on July 19 — the day of the opening ceremonies for the Moscow Olympics.

The demonstration, the first joint action between Ukrainians and Afghans in Britain, was organised by the Association of Afghan Freedom Fighters and the Committee for the Defence of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR.

The demonstration attracted media and press coverage. The protestors made speeches and chanted slogans in English, Ukrainian and Afghani.

The protestors emphasised the Moscow Olympics were a Russian Imperialistic public relations exercise designed to mask the murderous, expansionist policies of the Kremlin which have brutally trampled on the national and human rights of Ukraine, more recently Afghanistan and numerous other Russian-enslaved nations.

The leaders of the Afghan and Ukrainian groups promised solidarity in their mutual anti-Russian imperialist fight "until both our nations are free".

Ukrainians and Afghans have previously staged joint protest actions in the USA.

Below we reprint excerpts from Ukrainian and Afghan literature distributed during the demonstration.

OLYMPIC GAMES AND THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

Today marks the opening of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow yet one of the world's largest countries will not be represented, not because it is boycotting the games but because Soviet Russia will not allow it to take part.

That country is Ukraine one of the so-called "republics" of the USSR. Ukraine was forcibly incorporated into the USSR in 1921. The fiercely nationalistic Ukrainians have twice this century unsuccessfully fought prolonged and bloody wars against Russia to free themselves from Moscow's domination.

Russia's answer has been to attempt to erase Ukraine's national and human rights by mass-murders and physical and cultural repression of the most brutal sort. Other countries enslaved by Russia find themselves in the same position. Among them are Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Byelorussia.

The Olympics are supposed to better relations between countries but instead Moscow has responded by clamping down on Ukrainian patriots demanding elementary rights for their country.

Scores have been arrested in recent months to prevent contacts with the thousands of westerners who will visit the USSR this year. The recently arrested join the thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners who already cram Russia's barbaric concentration camps.

Among those are Yuriy Shukhevych, arrested in 1948, aged 15, because his father was the leader of the anti-Nazi and anti-Russian Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Yuriy has spent 30 years in prison for the "crime" of being his father's son.

Oksana Meshko, an elderly, veteran political prisoner, was arrested recently for membership of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Helsinki Accords. And journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil who exposed Moscow's criminal treatment of political prisoners was arrested on trumped-up charges shortly after completing a previous harsh sentence for anti-soviet agitation".

We appeal to the British public to pressurise the Government to champion the plight of Ukrainian and other subjugated nations' political prisoners in the USSR and to boycott trade with the USSR until the national and human rights of the subjugated nations are guaranteed.

Committee for the Defence of
Ukrainian Political Prisoners
in the USSR."

"THE BLOODY OLYMPICS

The acquisition of oil has become a vital and crucial weapon in the international struggle for the political and economic survival of all nations. The Soviet Union has become keenly aware of this reality. In their efforts to secure a base in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan has become the prime target for Brezhnev.

As the Olympic opening ceremonies take place in Moscow today the Soviet Russian imperialists occupying Afghanistan are winning gold medals in murder and brutality as they try to crush the Afghan people's freedom.

Since Afghanistan became the latest stepping stone in Russia's expansionist ambitions Moscow has yet again demonstrated her willingness to commit any atrocity in a bid to enforce domination.

The Russian forces in Afghanistan have their own deadly "games".

Eyewitnesses have reported children being hurled to their deaths from airborne helicopters in front of their parents as a warning against supporting the freedom fighters who have prevented Moscow's conquest of the country. The Russians have blinded infants for the same reason.

Poison gas is used indiscriminately on villagers and recently 64 villages were destroyed in bombing raids in a ruthless attempt by the Russians to break Afghan resistance.

Since the main purpose of the Olympic Games originally was and still is the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations among all the nations of the world, we appeal to the people of the Free World who believe in freedom, human dignity, justice and peace to support our struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism and expansionism. We also demand that the governments of the Free World nations suspend all trade agreements with Soviet Russia and ask them to provide military and financial assistance to Afghan freedom fighters to aid them in confronting the massive Russian invasion and occupation of their homeland.

Afghan Association of Freedom Fighters''

UKRAINIAN LEAFLETS IN AFGHANISTAN

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists has effected the distribution of tens of thousands of leaflets in the Ukrainian and Russian languages in Afghanistan urging the occupying forces to refuse to take part in the Soviet Russian war of expansion.

The leaflet states, "You were sent to Afghanistan against your will to die for the colonialist interests of Moscow and Brezhnev. Soviet Russia enslaved Ukraine 60 years ago in the same way as it now seeks to subjugate the peace-loving Afghan using you as its tools.

Never forget how Moscow Russifies and destroys your homeland. Remember the forced famine in which seven million perished, the mass deportations to Siberia, the concentration camps and the mass executions of Ukrainians — your families and relatives. Remember the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's struggle for our country's independence in the face of the Twentieth Century's two arch-tyrants — Stalin and Hitler.

The million Ukrainians in the Free World and the entire Ukrainian nation support the Afghan nationalists' fight for freedom.

Do not war on the Afghan people. Spread the ideal of a national-liberation revolution amongst the peoples of the USSR — that prison of nations.

Fight for an independent, sovereign Ukrainian nation. Death to imperialist Moscow".

Yaroslav STETSKO

(Last Prime Minister of Free Ukraine)

CAN A NUCLEAR WAR BE AVOIDED

At a time of heightened world tension the spectre of nuclear war has arisen in the minds of many people.

For a long time the message of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has been that it can be avoided but only if the West supports the freedom struggles of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia.

Below we reprint an essay on this subject by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, the last prime minister of Free Ukraine.

1. Initial Positions of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Liberation Movement (OUN)

Our goal: Reestablishment of a sovereign and independent united Ukrainian State, through the liquidation of the Russian empire, namely its dissolution into national, independent, democratic states of the presently subjugated nations within their ethnic boundaries and the destruction of the Communist system.

Reestablishment of Ukrainian independence and because of this, dissolution of the Russian empire, would result in revolutionary changes on the political map of the world. Russia would lose access to the Mediterranean Sea, to the Near and the Middle East, to Africa, and with a possible independence of Siberia, also her position on the Asian continent.

The geopolitical situation of independent Ukraine, the Caucasus and Turkestan has exceptional significance for a new arrangement of political forces in the world.

The revolutionary anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik concepts propagated by Ukraine, the indestructible human potential and natural resources of Ukraine — are component elements of the exclusive position enjoyed by Ukraine at present and in the future..

Our road to liberation: Synchronized national liberation revolutions and armed uprisings in Ukraine and in other subjugated nations. The reality of this road, even in a terroristic, totalitarian system, was confirmed by the Hungarian Revolution, the uprisings in Poznan and East Germany, and, in particular, by the uprisings of Ukrainian and other prisoners in 1948 (Vorkuta) and in 1953-59 in various concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan. A temporary failure of these uprisings does not mean their permanent failure or their infeasibility as a means of liberation.

In the West the very possibility of an uprising has been questioned for decades. But life has shown otherwise. Now we are not concerned with proving the feasibility of an uprising as such, but the possibility of a successful, victorious uprising. The failure of the Hungarian or

East German uprising was caused by their isolation and lack of coordination with uprisings in other subjugated countries, as well as *total orientation* upon armed assistance from the West. It is not enough to appeal exclusively to the West. The Hungarian insurgents should have concentrated their attention upon combining the interests of the subjugated nations with the interest of the Hungarian people and not on propagating a separate liberation. They should have supported the liberation of all subjugated nations. An appeal to the soldiers of the Soviet Army in Ukraine and elsewhere would have brought more success than the desperate cries for help to the West, which was not even able to render political support.

An opportunity for an uprising could be provided either by a favourable external or internal political situation or both simultaneously. The Berlin blockade (an uprising in Vorkuta in 1948), the death of Stalin, the liquidation of Beria, the war in the Middle East, an armed conflict between Russia and her external enemy — all these are opportunities for insurrections, provided the situation in the empire is ripe and the peoples are prepared psychologically and morally for a revolutionary act, either spontaneous or organized in advance. From this side of the Iron Curtain it is necessary to conduct systematic, long-range ideological training and activization of the broad popular masses in order to create an internal revolutionary situation of preparedness, to take advantage of a favourable opportunity or to create psychological and moral preconditions for a revolutionary act. It is impossible to predict the time of the outbreak of the national uprising or to determine the components of the situation. The potentials of human or national soul cannot be made to conform to some fatalistic or rationally calculated principles. Neither the Hungarian, nor the East German, nor the national liberation uprisings of the past have been rationally calculated, but came as the result of the strenuous, many-sided preparatory struggle, in particular, the ideological mobilization of the people and the accumulation of revolutionary dynamic and agitation. All the more under conditions of totalitarian, terroristic regime, the frontal and multiple pressure of the occupant in all phases of life and on each individual creates the situation of resistance of each and all oppressed members of the subjugated nation. Through the accumulation of hatred and systematic passive resistance and parallelly more and more intensive outbreaks, the conditions are ripening for a nationwide explosion. An opportunity cannot always be foreseen. It can be created.

The territories of Siberia, Turkestan and the Caucasus are in particular well suited for insurgent actions, for they are populated by millions of nationally and politically conscious Ukrainians, who were deported from Ukraine — an element which is particularly capable of engaging in revolutionary acts. The political mobilization of Ukrainians and members of other subjugated nations, who live in these countries as well, must be part of our plan of psychological warfare.

A possible spontaneous explosion does not necessarily mean an uncalculated outburst, but a discharge of concentrated, accumulated revolutionary potential, which had been steadily collected by the leading political and cultural revolutionary elements through their activities. They do not have to be members of an underground revolutionary liberation organization like the one which existed until now. The fact that the leading revolutionary cadre is present cannot be denied by the absence of an underground organization, built on the old model. The leading cadres of the revolution — both political and military — exist regardless of the fact whether it is possible or impossible to organize them into an old-type underground organization. In the midst of struggle the leading revolutionary elements — military and political — are going to assume organized forms under the protection of their armed force.

In a terroristic system a revolutionary organization must limit itself to the following three elements which make up a revolutionary organization:

- a) an agreement of its cadres as to principles,
- b) an agreement on political guidelines of action,
- c) technical and organizational contacts, which are to serve for successful realization of tasks *a* and *b*.

But on the basis of our concept of liberation revolution, in which we are not counting on a palace revolt of the Pretorian Guard or on some plot which would decide on the success of the national liberation revolution, but on the struggle of the people, on mass struggle, the technical and organizational ties are not decisive. Here the development of dynamic national and political consciousness and self-reliance of the broad popular masses, with the accent on aggressive mass actions comes into play. It is hardly necessary to conceal such actions, when the masses are taking part in them. For this very reason it is necessary to have perfected technological means for the organization of struggle and the transmission of instructions-guidelines. A description of this or that action, as for example in Novocherkask in 1964, broadcast on the radio becomes a guide for action in other centres of Ukraine and elsewhere.

Even a description of a demonstration by our youth in front of the Russian Embassy in London or Ottawa, transmitted to Ukraine or Turkestan, becomes a stimulus for a modified but analogous form of action in Kyiv or Tashkent. The young people in Ukraine are technically well-trained and it is not a chance occurrence that hundreds of radio hams, who transmitted foreign radio broadcasts on their own transmitters, were arrested in Ukraine as "hooligans of the air".

Therefore it is enough to have hitching posts. An organizational network is not absolutely necessary in the age of advanced technological progress. We are concerned with efforts in the direction of psycho-moral, political and ideological revolutionization of all strata

of society, differentiating the psycho-political struggle of relatively different elements within the subjugated peoples: a) youth, b) members of the Soviet Army, c) members of the Komsomol, d) workers in the field of culture, e) technocrats, f) blue collar workers, g) collective-farm workers, h) intellectuals, i) members of the Communist party, j) civil servants, etc. Within the empire the conflicts are going to become bigger and bigger. They stem from its national composition and the anti-naturalness of the Communist system, as the Russian way of life. And thus there are the subjugated nations and the ruling nation; the terrorist system and the human longing for freedom; the threat of a permanent explosion of the oppressed individual and nation; the intensification of contradictions and the widening of gaps and conflicts between the ruling Russian and the quisling strata on the one hand, and the freedom-loving forces of the peoples on the other; social injustice and wrongs and the new class of exploiters and Communist magnates; many-sided resistance to the anti-natural collectivistic system on the part of the subjugated nations and individuals, and so forth.

II. The Subjugated Nations — The Key Issue in World Politics

In practice a battle is being fought for the subjugated peoples, although they are never spoken of, and no reference is ever made to them in negotiations between the super powers.

The essential problem is not arms limitation but the gaining of the souls of those who carry these arms, in order to make them turn against the Russian oppressor. The non-Russian peoples make up the majority of the population of the USSR and for this reason the majority of soldiers in the Soviet Army are non-Russians. Together with the satellite countries the power ratio is more than 1:2 in favour of the non-Russians.

Thus the free world should place its stakes upon the break-up of the Russian empire and the despotic Communist system from within, i.e. it should count upon the national revolutions, finalized by an armed uprising. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller's concept of modern warfare should not only be the object of study by military experts of the free world, but of practical application. In essence it is to our own revolutionary liberation concept. Ideas, says Gen. Fuller, are stronger than atomic bombs. Atomic bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, on uprisings and insurgents, for the Russian occupation forces would be liquidated at the same time and the radioactive fallout would also destroy the Russians, not only in Ukraine, but also on their own ethnographic territory. Therefore the national liberation revolutions and armed uprisings are also an alternative to thermonuclear war. Moreover, the situation in Vietnam proved how hard it is, even for a super power, to be victorious in a

practical confrontation with a guerilla-insurgent concept, the most modern type of warfare in the thermonuclear age.

The thermonuclear age is at the same time an ideological age. The insurgent-guerrilla age is adequate for the ideological age. With the growth of military technology, its modernization and the ever increasing inventions of more and more destructive weapons, increase the importance of the armed people (with simple weapons at times). And this is comprehensible and life-saving for humanity, for, regrettably, the ethnical and cultural armament of the human race, its morality and spiritual culture, do not go hand in hand with technological progress. The more powerful and all-destructive thermonuclear weapons become, the greater becomes the role and the significance of an individual in the struggle for freedom or in defence of freedom.

Western support of the revolutionary liberation processes will not lead to thermonuclear war, but instead will make the latter more unlikely since the Russians are going to be threatened by a possible attack from outside, as for example from Red China.

Russia is actively and militarily supporting the so-called national liberation "anti-colonial" guerrilla formations and acts in various countries — and no nuclear war ensues. The pro-Russian front is penetrating the entire free world, cutting across free nations, parts of whose members are supporting the Russian interests, in opposition to their own national interests.

The hopes placed upon Communism's evolution toward democracy or the fall of the Russian empire of itself are a dangerous illusion for which the free world could pay with total thermonuclear destruction or capitulation before the Russian tyranny.

With their presence alone the US armed forces are not always capable of stopping the Russian expansion.

For example, the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea and the construction of military bases around it, prove this clearly. Only a confrontation, as was the case during the blockade of Cuba, could be successful. But where is the *casus belli* of a democratic power — is often hard to determine, even for its government. But under such conditions Russia can commit the error of miscalculation as Hitler miscalculated with his attack upon Poland, who also did not take the central problem of that time into consideration, which is even a greater problem today: the subjugated nations.

The Russian empire is growing in the age of so-called peaceful coexistence. Russia's constant drive forward under pressure from the subjugated nations, without a counteraction by the USA, in the sector of Ukraine and other nations subjugated in the Russian empire, will lead sooner or later to an armed clash between Moscow and Washington. The concept of the polarization of the world is unreal-

istic, for new forces are always arising which cannot be controlled by arms. This concept requires that the USA together with Russia act as bogeyman for all. But this is contrary to the nature of the American people and in the long run is objectively incapable of being maintained. The American nation, which is composed of citizens with various ethnic backgrounds, more than any other nation of the world, must base its policies on ethnical principles, for otherwise it would be hard for it to find a common denominator for its citizens of English, Irish, German, Jewish, Polish, Ukrainian, Latvian, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, etc. descent in their defence of the interests of their former homelands. It is most probable that the United States might have to fight against Russia in order to keep Israel from collapsing. In the Cuban situation the same threat was present. And how many more such situations are awaiting the USA in view of the systematic, continuous aggression of Russia, which now has a fleet second only to the United States and submarine bases on various continents. And yet, not so long ago, Russia could hardly be considered a sea power, only a land power.

In order to stop Russian expansion (which now extends to the Indian Ocean and Latin America, her submarines appear in Australian waters, and even in those of the USA and Canada, all the more since Great Britain — regrettably — gave up its military bases and Russia filled the vacuum here and there, for the USA, it seems, cannot be present everywhere) it is mandatory to support the national liberation revolutionary processes within the Russian empire in order to bring about its dissolution from within and consequently the fall of Communism, without an atomic war. The subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of every empire, and even more of the despotic Russian prison of nations and individuals. To count upon them is to count on something permanent, for the striving for freedom and state independence cannot be stifled by any tyrannical system of rule, which is clearly proved by the present processes in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries (the struggle of the intellectuals, cultural leaders, poets, youth, etc.). Prisoners never defended their prison. For this reason the subjugated peoples are not going to defend the empire under any conditions, but are going to search for ways and means of its destruction, undertaking in extreme cases, a two-front war, as was done by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in its fight against both Germany and Russia, should the conditions prevalent in World War II repeat themselves.

It is historically proven fact that Russia was always defeated in internal revolutions, not in external wars. Some examples: In the 1904-5 war with Japan and in 1917-18 Russia, a member of the victorious Entente, lost the war because of national uprisings and liberation wars of the subjugated peoples, which, headed by Ukraine, reestablished their independent states. Napoleon and Hitler lost the war because they did not take into consideration the Achilles' heel of

the empire — the subjugated nations, and the support of their national aspirations.

The counting of some in the West on the fact that Russian expansion can be stopped by a Russo-Chinese war, may be erroneous for both sides are conscious of the fact that in this type of a situation the USA would be victorious. On the other hand, a common front of the USA and Russia would be a repetition of the Allies' error in World War II: a common front with the Russian tyranny against the Nazi tyranny. Churchill aptly remarked later, "We have slaughtered the wrong pig". In our view, it was necessary to slaughter "both pigs" in a common front of the Allies and the peoples subjugated by Berlin and Moscow. The West had that chance when the USA joined the great coalition.

The war between Russia and Red China could be either thermo-nuclear or conventional. It cannot be a guerrilla war on the territory of the USSR on the part of Red China. Red Chinese guerrillas cannot expect any support from the people of Ukraine, Turkestan, the Caucasus or Byelorussia. They cannot expect this support in Siberia either, where there are millions of nationally and politically conscious deportees from Ukraine and other subjugated countries. A guerrilla war of the Red Chinese is only possible in Asia where there are Chinese settlements and sections of nations sympathetic to Communism which are racially close to the Chinese (Red Vietnamese, Cambodians, Thais, etc.), but so far, conscious of anti-Chinese sentiments among the Asian peoples threatened by Red China, the Red Chinese did not export their guerrillas anywhere in large numbers.

A Russo-Chinese conflict is in our interest, as are all complications faced by Russia in the field of foreign policy, but we do not share the view that the enemy of our enemy is necessarily our friend. Hitler was not our friend, although he was an enemy of Moscow.

Ukraine is not going to fight for the preservation of the Russian empire, nor for its "democratization", but for its liquidation. However, she will not fight on the side of Red China either, whose colonial aims are analogous to those of Nazi Germany. We are going to take advantage of all conflicts in which Russia is involved in order to topple the empire. We are not going to defend the prison of nations. All external difficulties of Russia create a favourable situation for the revolutionary liberation movements in their attempts to unfold revolutionary activities and to intensify the revolutionary struggle. The dispatching of Soviet divisions to the Far East, their decrease in Ukraine, the opening of American and Red Chinese fronts against Russia — all these are in our interest. The more fronts Russia has, the better for us. But this does not mean at all that we are orienting ourselves upon any of Russia's enemies. We are orienting ourselves upon our own forces, upon the common front of the subjugated nations, which share our fate. And finally, the counting

of some upon a Russia-Chinese war is only one of the possibilities, which may not come true, when Russia will facilitate Peking's southward expansion and its expansion into Southeast Asia, as was contended by Gen. J. F. C. Fuller. Then the USA might have to fight a two-front war against Russia and against Red China.

The USA does not only have the alternatives: to side with Russia against Red China, or with Red China against Russia; it has also the most lasting, anti-imperialistic alternative: to side with the subjugated nations against the aggressors.

This very alternative was ignored by the Allies in World War II, thus helping the Russian aggressors to conquer not only half of Europe but in fact to build Russia into a world power.

13th WACL CONFERENCE

The 13th World Anti-Communist League conference took place in Geneva, Switzerland, in July this year.

Ukrainian delegates were active at the conference and below we reproduce the texts of two resolutions dealing with Ukraine which were adopted unanimously by all the conference delegates on July 28, 1980.

Whereas the 53 million Ukrainian nation with its continuous revolutionary liberation fight, with its unbounding human revolutionary potential, talents and creative works of its members, economic wealth of its land, its geo-political position constitutes the key factor in the world struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism;

Whereas the revolutionary liberation, insurgent-partisan war of Ukraine, without any support during World War II against the largest military world powers — Germany and Russia, waged by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army under the command of Gen. R. Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, who died in the battle against the NKVD armies in 1950, also today reveals the unsurmountable power and great importance of Ukraine together with other subjugated nations, as an ally of the Free World;

Whereas Russia, exploiting the policy of detente, desires by all means to destroy the leading strata of the Ukrainian nation, applying also to the entire nation ethno-, nation- and genocidal policies, including brutal russification, while imposing its communist/atheistic way of life;

Whereas the Ukrainian nation by its revolutionary liberation struggle and during recent years also by other open forms of opposition* and struggle opposes the Russian colonial empire, branding the

*) Open statements of fighters for an independent Ukraine under the cover of the Helsinki Accords, or without it, in the frame of the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

Ukrainian SSR as being a Russian colony and demands the national independence and sovereignty;

Whereas the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has struggled for 50 years against Russian imperialism and Communism, and still remains a leading moving force of the liberation fight for an independent, democratic Ukrainian state and jointly with Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) co-founded the ABN in 1943 to promote insurgent combat against Nazism and Bolshevism;

Therefore the 13th WACL Conference resolves: —

1. To give political and moral support to the national liberation struggle of Ukraine for its national sovereignty and independence in order that through a national liberation revolution of the subjugated nations the downfall of the Russian empire and of the entire bolshevist system be accomplished from within, thus avoiding thermo-nuclear hermegedon and bolshevist world holocaust.

2. In view of the heroic struggle of Ukraine and during the last six months' armed struggle of the courageous Afghanistan, assaulted by Russia, to appeal to the governments and parliaments of the Free World to value the volcanic force of the neglected ideo-political superpower — the subjugated nations under the Russian-bolshevist yoke and to aim its war strategy not only on the technico-military elements but on the explosive force of the liberation idea.

3. The conception of holy liberation wars which combine the national and religious ideas under the slogan, as we witnessed in Afghanistan. "The Lord is great" against the bolshevist Russian atheist colonial-imperial subjugation — such a concept is invincible. To place by the governments of free nations, at the disposal of the OUN and other liberation organizations, all possible technical means of psychological warfare e.g. radio stations, printing facilities for the dissemination of informational material for the use of soldiers of the Red Army in order to win them against the occupants, what is the task of first priority in aiding Afghanistan as well.

4. To appeal to the West for armed military aid for Afghanistan in its liberation war as well as for other subjugated nations who are willing and prepared to synchronise their own liberation war with that of heroic Afghanistan gradually and simultaneously training volunteers of respective peoples in the modes of the insurgent-partisan warfare.

5. To grant the OUN — liberation revolutionary Organization of the Ukrainian nation, the same legal status which the PLO has achieved not only in the UN, but in the capital cities of the Free World, the more that the OUN does not apply in the Free World methods of struggle analogical to those of the PLO.

6. To condemn russificational natio-cide, physical genocide in Ukraine and other subjugated nations, in particular the deprivation of freedom of 5 million citizens of the USSR, 70% of them Ukrainians, in the concentration camps, camps of compulsory labour, prisons, psychiatric wards, deportations, exile, and, in particular, to condemn the KGB murders of freedom fighters e.g. artist Alla Horska (1970), Ivan Mojsseyev (1972), Fathers Ivan Luchkiw, Michael Lutsky and A. Gurgula (1975) Volodymyr Ossadchyj (1975), mathematician Ivan Vytenka (1976), Mykola Konchakivskyj (1978), historian M. Melnyk (1979), composer Volodymyr Ivisiuk (1979) and further to condemn the KGB murders of nationalists, members of the OUN.

7. To appeal to the governments and parliaments of the Free World to exercise constant pressure on the USSR — by means of the compact economic blockade of the USSR up to the inclusion of armed support to the subjugated nations against Russian occupational armies — to withdraw the occupational armies from Ukraine, Afghanistan and other countries which have been overrun by the Russians.

8. To condemn the imprisonment of the fighters for national and human rights, for religious practices, and to appeal to the governments — and parliaments of the free nations to put strong pressure on the USSR for the release of political and religious prisoners, in particular members of the OUN and UPA, and the participants of the Ukrainian national liberation movement and all the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, to demand the release of Vasyl Pidhorodetsky, Ivan Hel, Father Romaniuk, Danylo Shumuk, Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Levko Lukianenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovich, Petro Sichko, Vasyl Sichko Vyacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Stus, Iryna Senyk, Zinovij Krasiwskyj, Stefania Shabatura, Oksana Popowych, and Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Yuriy Shukhevych has been sentenced several times for a total of 30 years imprisonment because he refused to denounce the legacy and ideals for which his father, Gen. R. Shukhevych, fought and died.

This imprisonment into concentration camps, prisons, psychiatric wards and deportations, violates the "Universal Declaration on human rights", the "Declaration on decolonization from 1960/1970", the UN resolution on the support to the military struggle of the subjugated nations against the colonial yoke, September 1976, as well as other agreements made between the West and the USSR.

Resolution submitted by the ABN Delegation

Whereas the Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism — following the footsteps of tsarist Russia, conquered the whole range of countries — in Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in Latin America, and recently invaded Afghanistan — after Angola, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, provokes disturbances in South Korea, — unchangeably strives for the World domination;

Whereas the policy of containment, co-existence, detente, at the NATO's efforts of keeping the balance of power in the world, in actuality was detrimental to the military balance and beneficial to the bolshevist Russian empire and her further conquests in the Free World;

Whereas the continuation of detente policy will soon lead to the conquest of the oil-producing countries of the Near and Middle East and to the seizure of natural resources of Africa and to the closure of the oil fields and natural resources as well as the routes to the countries of the West and the Far East, and thus without even a military invasion on Western Europe and the Far East, will bring about the capitulation at the hands of the Bolshevik aggressors;

Whereas the military superiority of the Communist Russian empire over NATO and the Free World creates a threat of the thermonuclear annihilation;

Whereas the Russian aggressors, taking advantage from this superiority and new conquests and present geo-strategical position directed against the West, do destroy by Stalinist methods the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations in the USSR by mass arrests and sentences to the highest terms of imprisonment — in concentration camps, prisons, psychiatric wards, — by cruel russification, murders of national liberation fighters, cultural and religious activists (composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, priests Luchkiv and Lutsky, and others) and even giving draconic punishments to the members of the Helsinki groups, which strive under the cover of the Helsinki Accords for the realisation of national and human rights (in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, etc.).

The 13th WACL Conference resolves: —

1. To appeal to the USA and NATO members to replace the policy of detente and balance of power which brought unwarranted results for the interests of the West as well as in view of the policy for the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;

2. To appeal emphatically to the USA and all the countries of the Free World, in particular to the Islamic countries, to hasten with military and all other aid to the heroic Afghanistan in order to bring about the expulsion of Russian occupationary armies from Afghanistan and to strengthen the national liberation holy struggle of not only Islamic nations subjugated in the USSR but of all the subjugated

by Bolshevism nations in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries, i.e. Christian, Moslem, Buddhist, for the dissolution of the Bolshevik atheist empire into national independent democratic sovereign states!

3. The 13th WACL Conference appeals to the president of the USA and to the governments of the free nations to include as an integral part of their policy towards the last remaining empire of the world — the USSR, the national liberation of the peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial empire and the restoration of their empire and the restoration of their national independence and sovereignty;

4. The 13th WACL Conference reminds that the new USSR Constitution includes as a constitutional obligation the aggressive wars of the empire under the name of active all-round support to the so-called national liberation revolutionary movement and social revolts ("proletarian internationalism").

5. WACL condemns the new USSR Constitution as the constitution of the colonial empire — prison of nations and people, which guarantees to the so-called Soviet people (the artificial creation), and in reality to the Russian supernational — the holder of the empire — all unlimited rights, and degrades the subjugated nations to the role of slaves;

6. WACL condemns the enforced russification which is composed of linguicide, culture-, ethno- and geno-cide and finally natio-cide, which is being performed through the mixing of peoples, forceful deportations from the native countries, colonization by Russians of the subjugated nations;

7. Russification is the crime against the universal culture of mankind, its barbarisation, because it aims at the destruction of the mosaic of national cultures which guarantee the progress and development of world culture.

8. WACL calls for the all-round support for national liberation, revolutionary, heroic struggle for national independence and human rights of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Croatia, Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, East Germany, Poland, Czech Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Mozambique, North Korea, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.

9. WACL calls the nations of the world to implement the UN resolution from 1960/1970 on decolonization of empire including the remaining last empire of the world — the Russian Empire — the USSR, and the US Congress resolution 86-90 from 1959 on

the restoration of national independence to the peoples subjugated in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries and to all peoples under the Communist yoke.

10. WACL appeals to all free nations starting with the USA to develop a wide psychological and political war against the Russian empire and against Communist tyranny, to stop economical and technological help, against Communist tyranny, to stop economical and technological help, to stop the policy of detente, and instead, to support the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations which are disintegrating the empire and Communism from within, and thus represent the possible alternative to the nuclear war.

11. WACL appeals to the Free World to carry out the pressure action on Communist regime for the liquidation of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, and the release of national, political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations, and in particular to cease the murders of political, cultural and religious activists and fighters for national and human rights.

12. WACL appeals to the US Congress and the parliaments of other nations in the world to accredit the rights of citizenship to the requesting political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations, changing if necessary, their own constitution for this purpose, or other, such as the possibility to carry out a psychological or other type of political liberation war, similarly as Moscow did in the last constitution.

13. The 13th WACL Conference states that without the realisation of national rights — namely national independence of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism — there is no possibility to realise human rights and social justice in the subjugated countries.

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Book Reviews

The Shattered Illusion. (A history of Ukrainian pro-Communist organisation in Canada) by John Kolasky, Toronto, PMA books, 280 Bloor St., Toronto, 200 pp., 1979.

The author John Kolasky, a Canadian born teacher was a member of the Communist party of Canada and its related Ukrainian organizations.

In 1963, by virtue of his Party activities, Kolasky was selected to attend the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kyiv. It was while there that he discovered that official Soviet pronouncements about the rights of non-Russian peoples in the USSR did not conform to reality, but were in fact, hiding a brutal, old-fashioned imperialism.

Upon his return from the USSR in his first book *Education in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto, 1968) was published, a massively-documented indictment of Russification in Ukraine, for which he was consequently expelled from the Communist Party of Canada.

The Shattered Illusion is more than a mere history of the Ukrainian Communists in Canada. Kolasky vividly describes the interplay and conflicts with the Ukrainian nationalist organizations, the behind-the-scenes manipulations by Moscow and the slavish ties and adherence to the Kremlin by the Communist leadership. He describes in detail the background and financial dealings of such communist front businesses as "Globe Tours" and "Ukrainska Knyha", the fringe benefit that the leadership obtained through these businesses — men who began as revolutionaries opposed to the exploitation of labour become themselves employers of hired hands". Kolasky's aversion to the cynicism of the leadership is expressed in the conclusion:

... "one by one, the Ukrainian communist leaders disposed of the many halls that were built by the honest labour and sweat of thousands of eager hands. The proceeds that rolled into the National Executive Committee swelled their trust and pension funds to provide them with security in their retirement. However, philosophically and morally, the Ukrainian communist leaders were left completely disillusioned. The organizations they had built rolled on inexorably to their inevitable end. They themselves ended up betrayed by the regime they supported, disenchanted with the ideology they had propagated and condemned by the followers they had misled, by the Ukrainian patriots they had defamed and by the Ukrainian nation whose subjugation and oppression they had so shamelessly acclaimed".

IN DEFENCE OF THE UKRAINIAN CAUSE

In his Foreword to *In Defence of the Ukrainian Cause*, John Richmond, the literary editor of the *Montreal Star* stated: "Where injustice occurs it is necessary to know not only the nature of the injustice themselves but themselves but their genesis. The author of this volume, concerned with the present and its future reverberations, has analysed the more significant (and little known) aspects of the Ukrainian situation. He has done so not from a parochial point of view but rather as an object lesson. An English poet, Blake, has said that infinity is contained in a grain of sand".

In Defence of the Ukrainian Cause is a collection of political commentaries and essays by Roman Rakhmanny on "the more significant aspects of the Ukrainian situation". The commentaries span a period of thirty years and deal with a variety of topics. The collection, meticulously edited by Stephen D. Olynyk, Ph.D., is arranged into seven parts, each reflecting a different phase or aspect of the Ukrainian national movement in the postwar period. In Part One, the author addresses the armed insurgency of the Ukrainian liberation movement during and immediately after World War II, directed against both Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. In Part Two, he follows the armed struggle as it evolved into the political mode, and at the same time became intertwined with the broader issues of the Cold War. In Part Three, the author deals with selected aspects of the social, political and religious milieu in which the Ukrainian movement has had to operate and, in a broader context, he poignantly illustrates the tragic condition of human existence in the Soviet communist society. As the Soviets were celebrating their fiftieth anniversary of Soviet power, Roman Rakhmanny reminded them in his commentaries (in Part Four) that the Ukrainian national movement is still alive and growing, fifty years after the Bolshevik revolution resistance has taken a new form (national dissident movement). This is tion.

In recent years, the Ukrainian vividly described and analyzed in Parts Five and Six. In Part Seven, the author addresses a wide range of social and political issues, problems confronting the Ukrainian diaspora in the Free World and the particular

society in which they live. *In Defence of the Ukrainian Cause* will interest readers in all walks of life. Particularly useful as a reader in ethnic studies, it will be a good introduction (in case study form) for students of national liberation movements. Those intimately concerned with human rights will find it packed with insight and stirring examples. For political observers, it presents a keen commentary on a potentially explosive force within the USSR: the force of ethnic nationalism.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Roman Rakhmanny, is the pen-name of a Ukrainian journalist, broadcaster, and essayist now living in Canada. He was born in the Ukrainian National Republic (1918) during that fleeting period in the history of Western Ukraine when it was a free and independent state. He received his secondary and university education in Lviv, Western Ukraine, and an M.A. (University of Toronto) and Ph.D. (University of Montreal) in Slavistics.

Rakhmanny's early years were intimately connected with the Ukrainian liberation movement, which he joined at the age of sixteen. He took an active part in the Ukrainian anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet resistance movement, and in the last months of the war, he helped restore a large part of the movement's network on the territory of Germany itself, where it had been brutally destroyed during 1943 German police raids. Immediately after the war, he directed a semi-legal news service, the Ukrainian Press Service (UPS), which distributed news of the military and political resistance in the Ukraine to West European

publications, and edited two Ukrainian-language newspapers.

In 1949, Roman Rakhmanny settled in Canada where he continued editing a weekly newspaper, and for almost ten years kept a weekly column in several Ukrainian language papers. His commentaries and essays have appeared in major newspapers and journals of Western Europe and North America in a number of languages, among them Dutch, English, French, German, and Norwegian. Some of his articles found their way to his native Ukraine, where they have been copied and clandestinely distributed by Ukrainian dissidents.

Roman Rakhmanny is the author of such books as *The UPA in Western Europe* (1949), *Blood and Ink* (1960), *Along the Fiftieth Parallel* (1969), *Not By Word Alone* (1971), *Conversation With the Young* (1978). He is a recipient of the First Prize for political commentary from the American-Ukrainian Journalists Association (1973), and the Taras Shevchenko Medal "for outstanding contribution to the preservation of Ukrainian identity" from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (1974). He is a member of the Canadian Association of Slavists, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN-Canada), the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and

Sciences in the USA, and International P.E.N. Club. For two terms (1974-1979), he was a member of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. He is listed in the *International Authors and Writers Who's Who* — 1979, and in the *Ukrainians in North America*.

Roman Rakhmanny evaluates his own work in rather modest terms: "I have been trying to speak up for those men and women who have fought and died in defence of the Ukrainian cause, for those who have been silenced by their oppressors, and for those who are not so silent but have been prevented from communicating with the free world about their undiminished desire to live as three-dimensional human beings".

And for the chance of having been able to do so, he is grateful: "Thank you, God, for having spared me an involuntary journey to Siberia. And blessed be Thy name for the survivors you have brought back from the road to Magadan. By their testimony, they give us all a rare chance to become and act like true human beings: To know one another better and to co-operate more eagerly for the sake of those who are less fortunate than ourselves, be they Jews, Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians or Russians".

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UKRAINIAN DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST IN MADRID
DURING OPENING OF THE SECOND REVIEW
CONFERENCE OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.



MADRID CONFERENCE — A GROTESQUE FANTASY?

It is vaguely ironic that the second review conference of the 1975 Helsinki Accords — properly known as the Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe — should be held in the beautiful city of Madrid whose famous art gallery, the Museo del Prado, houses one of the most extensive collections of paintings by the artist Hieronymus Bosch, known in Spain as El Bosco.

El Bosco was of course the painter who created some of the most vivid images of hell and the inevitable suffering of humanity to be set down on canvas.

Maybe his message, carefully layered onto canvas over 450 years ago, was to do with the vanity of man or his unjustifiable optimism in the future. Maybe the fact that his patron, King Felipe the Fourth of Spain was, to say the least, unbalanced, had also something to do with the artist's disturbing works.

But the Madrid Conference fell into line with the El Bosco surrealistic perception of life. Try and keep talking at all costs. It did not matter that everyone honest with themselves knew that the talks on, for instance, the controversial "Basket Three", dealing with human rights, do not mean very much if the violators of human and national rights, the Russian Empire, have no intention of abiding by the agreements they made and the West has no intention of enforcing it.

The West was so desperate to keep the talks alive they agreed to a procedural move to stop the clocks in the conference centre to allow extra time for a schedule to be drawn up.

Tuesday became Monday for the delegates but it was still Tuesday in the labour camps for the thousands of Ukrainian and other non-Russian political prisoners incarcerated in the USSR for proposing national and human rights in their countries and advocating independence and freedom struggles to liberate their nations of Russian imperialistic hegemony.

The immediate future of the talks was eventually safeguarded by an eleventh hour compromise which limited time allotted to the Basket Three review. The West had proposed an unlimited schedule for discussing this section of the Helsinki Accords, the Russians wanted two weeks, the two sides agreed on five weeks.

The tone of this article may appear unduly harsh on the Western delegates and the governments behind them. No doubt the majority of the Western delegates were genuinely concerned about what they perceived as human rights violations. But a realistic dimension to this concern seemed to be lacking and the cynic could not help but wonder whether the politicians' concern about matters of conscience

was not a little outweighed by trade and finance considerations and a sense of believing that world "security" depends on the status quo being maintained.

A case of tinkering with the façade but leaving the rotten core intact?

One English journalist covering the conference confided to the author, "If I really thought the security of the world, the future of my children, depended on this conference I would emigrate immediately to some deserted island in the South Seas."

A number of Ukrainian groups came to Madrid to put their points. Each succeeded in varying degrees in focusing attention on the Ukrainian argument.

The largest group of Ukrainians was the Ukrainian Youth Association representation from several European countries but mainly from Britain.

The group, organised with the help of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) organisation staged a demonstration to coincide with the planned opening date of the conference (November 11, 1980) and followed it up with a hunger strike.

Both events attracted wide press coverage. Most Spanish newspapers carried reports prominently, some on the front page. Much of the international press and media gave publicity to the events.

The group also distributed press and public information and met with delegates to the conference and others interested in the proceedings.

The conference will continue into next year (1981) but already the press, at least in Britain, have lost interest in the proceedings. They covered just the action, the peripheral events, demonstrations and hunger strikes. Maybe, the much-criticised press of the Western World should be given more credit for an intuitive, instinctual valuation process. They can discern the words which will lead to action and the words which will lead to . . . more words.

A.K.

Below we reprint two of the documents distributed to the press and public by Ukrainian groups at the opening of the Madrid Conference. The second document was distributed to each member of Parliament in Britain.

Yaroslav STETSKO, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE ANNULLED

The Helsinki agreements were initiated by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in

Moscow with the aim of receiving an international recognition of the gains achieved during the second World war;

- of consolidating the inviolability of the frontiers of the modern Russian empire, including the neocolonial satellite States;

- of preserving the integrity of territories dominated by Russian imperialism; and

- of securing non-interference in the so called internal affairs of the Russian colonial empire in Europe, Asia and on other continents.

This has been the only complex of the Helsinki agreements observed by both sides, the West and the Bolsheviks. What an irony!

The Russian Empire, the USSR, has discarded all other pledges with regard to the human rights and the fundamental liberties of peoples and individuals in its sphere of domination.

In the hope that US President Carter would become personally involved in the human rights campaign, there were formed in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia and also in Moscow groups for monitoring the implementation of the Helsinki agreements.

These groups demanded the realisation of the national and human rights of their peoples. The Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian groups in particular did not stop at the Third Basket for the implementation of human rights, but reached to the sources of oppression, that is the fact of existence of the USSR, the Russian colonial empire, and demanded national independence for their peoples, that is disintegration of the empire in the age of the "fall of empires" in the whole world, according to the relevant UN Declaration on decolonization.

On the instructions of the Politburo and the USSR Government, the KGB smashed all national groups "for the implementation of the Helsinki agreements". The *pogrom* of these groups is continuing to this day, in particular on the eve of the Madrid conference. The Politburo and the USSR Government in fact have made a laughing stock of the Helsinki agreements, having achieved the most desired: the recognition by 33 States in Europe, and North America — without any peace treaty! — of the inviolability of all, so far, territorial acquisitions of the Russian conquerors.

The Helsinki agreements came after the suppression of the 1949 uprising of Ukrainian prisoners in Vorkuta, after the 1953 uprising of workers in East Germany, after the defeat of Hungary and Poland in 1956 and the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, after the smashing of the revolts of the Ukrainian and other inmates of the concentration camps, after the erection of the Berlin Wall, after the suppression by brute force of the uprisings of Ukrainian working people in Novocherkassk, Novodzerzhinsk, Dnipropetrovsk and the Donbas; after the suppression of the workers' revolts in Poland in 1970 and 1976.

False Security

Can one speak about security and peaceful settlement of misunderstandings? But what about the Russian aggression in Angola, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos and numerous other countries on various continents? Is this security?

And on the eve of the review of the fulfilment of the Helsinki agreements — aggression against Afghanistan and genocide by napalm bombs and chemical? The Helsinki agreements after hundreds of thousands of drowned refugees from Communism in Vietnam? Is this security? Is this the indivisibility of security and peace?

The murder of the fighters for the rights of individual and nation, of priests, cultural workers and political fighters, the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, thousands deported to Siberia and imprisoned . . . All this took place after Helsinki and Belgrade meetings!

Without another world war the Russian imperialists have been ruining internal order inside the free nations with the help of peripheral wars, local wars and social subversion, including the terrorist factions of the Red army in the free world. And the Western nations seem to be helpless and frightened — “like rabbits facing a python!”

But at the same time the Russian empire has been a colossus with clay legs. It is being destroyed by the revolutionary national liberation movements of the oppressed nations, with Ukraine in the leading position. The oppressed nations constitute a majority in the USSR and this means also in the Soviet army. If we add also the satellites then the relation of forces would be 3 to 1 in favour of the subjugated, against the Russians, i.e. the oppressor nation.

The policy of detente is bankrupt. The strategy based on the balance of power has been a deception, for the Russians have superiority in nuclear and conventional armaments.

The West has underestimated the most important: the neglected super-power of the oppressed nations which are tearing apart the Russian empire and the Communist system from within. The West has written off, as the decisive force of our age, these, its most determined, allies.

The liberating nationalism, militant religion, combination of the national and social ideas — these are forces that destroy the imperial system.

We demand: instead of the policy of detente with the Russian imperialists and communist tyrants, *a policy of liberation of the oppressed nations*, as an alternative to the nuclear war!

Detente leads to a world-wide Holocaust, while the policy of liberation leads to a lasting and just peace!

The Russian empire is advancing by stages in its march for the

conquest of the world. It achieves its aims through "tactics of salami", stage-by-stage. Its strength lies in the ethnical, ideological and political weakness of the West, in the lack of Western nations' political resolve to lead the struggle. The Russians have been occupying by the force of arms new countries, while shouting about their desire for peace and "against the war" at the same time, while the West has been, all the time, capitulating before Russia.

We propose, therefore, to the non-communist participants in the Madrid review of the implementation of the Helsinki accords to start a war of nerves against the Soviet Union now.

Instead of accepting Politburo's proposition of summit meetings, which would confirm one more Russian of conquests that of Afghanistan, to make the agreements made in Helsinki nul and void.

Agreements broken by one side do not bind other side. Such is a simple truth!

If anyone should wish to call this "a provocation", then the only provocation against the USSR at present is passiveness, lack of counter action, lack of any action in general and lack of political will to wage a struggle. Regrettably, this is what is typical of the West now.

MADRID CON OR CONFERENCE?

On 11 November the United States, Canada and every European country (except Albania) will be sending representatives to the second Helsinki review conference in Madrid. Every nation in Europe, large and small will be attending, including micro states like Monaco and Lichtenstein. One nation, a member of the United Nations, one of the largest countries in Europe and with a population of over 50 million, will be conspicuous by its absence.

Ukraine, while not directly represented at the conference has, more than any other nation, a deep interest in the outcome of the Madrid gathering, especially in the field of national and human rights. Ukraine in proportion to its size produces more political prisoners and witnesses more human rights violations than any other nation on this continent, her people comprise 18% of the U.S.S.R.'s population yet over half of concentration camp inmates are Ukrainians.

Ukraine is a nation with a seat at the United Nations, and has the right to: — "... enter into relations with other states, conclude treaties with them, exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, and take part in the work of international organisations."

Article 74, Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR.

According to the paper Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR., Ukraine also has the right to her own army, and to secede from the U.S.S.R.; yet her people have been persecuted and hounded since 1921 for seeking those very rights, enshrined even in the Soviet constitution.

Many people could be tempted to ask themselves whether, in the light of recent events in Poland and Afghanistan, the human rights issue ought not to take a back seat. That human rights violations have to some extent been overshadowed by the dramatic rise in international tension, caused by the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the brave struggle of the Polish workers. However, to concentrate on these issues and ignore their causes, the economic, social, political and moral rot which has gripped the Soviet Union since its conception, would be dangerous in the extreme.

The internal socio-economic organisation of any nation invariably effects its political structure and its relations with the outside world. The basic weakness of the Russian economic and political system is inextricably entwined with its treatment of dissidents and its perception of its foreign interests.

The Soviet economy, in common with many similar economies is an oppressive, centralised, bureaucratic monolith. In such a structure there is no room for self-improvement. Initiative is frowned upon and industrial efficiency virtually unknown. The only items the Soviet systems adept at producing are tanks and dissidents.

Unable to develop and adapt, the Soviet economy has become less and less efficient compared with the West. Depending on the West for technological innovations and hard currency (used to buy the goods, the U.S.S.R. cannot produce in sufficient quantities) the U.S.S.R., has adopted the role of a parasite, feeding off the West and in return attempts to undermine the countries on which it depends.

Russia is not new to this situation. Russia proper has been feeding off more advanced nations for a long time. Since 1921 she has been sucking the life blood from Ukraine, and since 1939 from Western Ukraine and the Baltic republics. In this lies one of the basic paradoxes of the Soviet position. In order to survive she needs to feed off more advanced nations. However the totalitarian political system operated by the Russians cannot function in a liberal society, and it is the political and economic freedom of the West which enables it to remain efficient.

This economic stagnation inevitably leads to social instability. When promotion is dependent on political reliability rather than on effort and ability, frustration inevitably results. Where initiative is a dirty word and there is no relationship between effort and reward, the results are predictable; lethargy and one of the worst alcoholic problems in Europe.

The political structure cannot be seen in isolation from the economic and social system. The political system, a vast bureaucratic, oppressive, totalitarian structure, basically unchanged since the days of

Stalin is a direct reflection of the socio-economic system. It is marred by inefficiency, lack of initiative and an absolute terror of any form of criticism. Nevertheless the Soviet system presents to the world a solid, stable exterior, a façade, hiding a gangrenous interior.

Ethnically most of the population of the Russian Empire is non-Russian, unwilling members of the U.S.S.R. In this lies the Soviet Union's most important political weakness. To keep its colonies under control, Russia must continually convince them of her strength. An aggressive foreign policy in this way serves two purposes; Moscow arms dominating large parts of the world, Moscow influence spreading through surrogates acts as a continual reminder that any attempts to undermine the political system are doomed to failure. At the same time the classic method of using external 'bogey men' to cover an internal weaknesses is used to rally what support still exists for the system.

Criticism and any form of dissent spread panic through the system. The fact that anybody has the courage and dignity to stand up and to tell their political masters they are wrong is a sign of the system failing to intimidate its victims. This carefully-built image of strength and power would not long survive if dissent were allowed to be freely voiced. Once the hard outer shell is cracked, the rotten interior would ensure the ultimate destruction of the system.

As far as Russian is concerned the three 'baskets' are closely linked. Moscow's aims at Madrid are twofold; to increase economic co-operation in order to feed off the Western economies in order to make up domestic shortages, while using detente to secure the western borders and distract the West from Russian adventures in other parts of the world. Detente, if successful, would also serve as a reminder to her own people that the West is in retreat, that even after Afghanistan the western world is still not prepared to stand up to Moscow.

At the review conference at Belgrade Moscow as taken to task over her human rights record. Dissidents and many other ordinary people in the Russian Empire took courage from this western support; it is essential that this start be built upon.

Afghanistan and Poland are undeniably important and these issues could dominate the conference. Human rights, however, must not be allowed to be swept under the carpet. The whole issue of Moscow treatment of dissidents and human rights in the U.S.S.R., is closely tied up with the basic weakness of the whole system. These people are living witnesses to the internal rot which has long gripped the system, proof that the façade of power and strength so carefully built up by the Russian authorities is just that, a façade. Afghanistan and Poland are external expressions of the social, economic and political degenerations of the Russian Empire. While not actually intervening in Poland (yet) Russian leaders are watching the development of the 'Polish disease' with an attention little short of panic.

Fear that if the Polish workers 'get away with it' others in the Russian Empire will follow, and the general inability to take criticism is on the other side of the coin.

How is it that in the eighth decade of the twentieth century, surrounded as we are by proof of mankind's innate genius, we allow these insults to basic human dignity to continue? Numerous brave people are suffering daily merely because they sought the rights guaranteed them by international law, enshrined in the Soviet constitution and reaffirmed at Helsinki in 1975. Of the founding members of the Ukrainian Monitoring Group, only three are still at liberty in Ukraine. The remainder are either under arrest or in exile.

During the Madrid conference it is essential that the West presses Moscow into implementing both the spirit of and the world of the Helsinki act. If the West shirks its duty, this and future conferences will degenerate into farce. Daily, people in the Russian Empire are arrested and persecuted for attempting to exercise their rights. The act, for example, specifically states that, "The participating states intend to facilitate wider travel for their citizens for personal or professional reasons..." Yet only recently a Ukrainian builder, Arkady Stepanchuk, was committed to a mental hospital simply because he sought aid from the British Embassy in emigrating. Is the treatment of Arkady Stepanchuk consistent with the Moscow declarations at Helsinki? A week later a well known Ukrainian freedom fighter and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, Vasyl Stus, was sentenced to ten years in a labour camp under the all-embracing article 70-2 of the Criminal Code of the RSRSR., the famous anti-Soviet agitation charge.

These are just two examples of the many, Shabatura, Kandyba, Romaniuk, Krasivsky, Shukhevych, Sverstiuk, Chornovil. Hel, Tykhy and hundreds of others all brave people who suffer mental and physical torment every day in order to defend those basic rights we all take so much for granted.

The Helsinki declarations have, since their signing in 1975, acted as a beacon to those who sought to improve the lot of mankind. It has acted as a light of hope to those who suffer daily humiliation and oppression at the hands of rulers who do not care about the rights of their subjects. Those many brave people who stood up in the cause of national and human rights deserve the support of the western world. It is not only their own rights that they are fighting for, but the basic dignity of men everywhere. If we allow a system which regards human beings as mere economic units to get away with trampling on those basic dignities which raise men above animals, our own humanity and dignity will inevitably suffer.

They have not betrayed our trust in them. Can we afford to betray theirs in us?

Roman ZWARYCZ

UKRAINIAN REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

(Part two)

The Concept.

In 1926, Dmytro Donzow wrote his highly-influential political treatise — *Nationalism*. With the appearance of this work, the modern phase of the development of Ukrainian nationalism acquired a serious and sophisticated ideological foundation. It is not the intention of this study to present an in-depth study of Donzow's ideological-philosophical system, although his ideological constructs had an enormous effect on the future evolution of a nationalist movement in Ukraine. Instead, the topic of this study is more concerned with Donzow's contribution to the elaboration and final foundation of the revolutionary "concept" of struggle, emasculated by the primary protagonists of this newly energized nationalist movement.

Donzow's political theory can be regarded as an annoyed, if not vehement response to the political realities accepted by the Ukrainian elite of the past generation, which, in Donzow's assessment, was crippled by Drahomaniw's "socialism and cosmopolitanism". Despite the desperate situation in which Ukraine found herself in the post World War I period, Donzow was especially aggravated by the total ineptitude of this pseudo-elite to resolve this situation and its seeming lack of will and determination to search for a conclusive resolution of Ukraine's fate. Hence, Donzow proceeded to establish a conceptual political system, taking into account the absolute necessity of clearly formulating a nationally-based hierarchy of political priorities. The result, i.e., Donzow's activist nationalism, was a historical-political necessity, if Ukraine was to survive as a viable political, and more importantly, a spiritual entity. This conception, which was later further developed and emasculated by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, OUN, although Donzow himself was never a formal member of the OUN, was an expression of the Ukrainian psyche, for ages held in bondage, resulting from a self-inflicted inferiority complex, but now desperately fighting to tear itself away from these psychological fetters, almost fanatically searching for the origins of its own integral strength; once these essential, primary origins were found and clearly formulated, then the Ukrainian nation once again had reason to believe in itself. Donzow's significance is precisely in that he managed to formulate these primary origins, which constituted the basic strength of the Ukrainian nation, and this he accomplished in a manner lucid and clear enough for every Ukrainian to understand and be convinced of. In short, *Nationalism* is an attempt to affixate, in an irrefutable and irreversible manner, a sense of identity and unique distinctiveness upon the Ukrainian national soul.

Donzow called for the exertion of a maximal amount of effort from every Ukrainian. He recognized, that in a total war situation, which was Ukraine's case, limited efforts can only engender limited results, whereas a struggle for the very absolute rights of man required a higher level of consciousness and an uncompromising resoluteness to achieve one's goal. Donzow managed to stir the ashes of an entire nation's consciousness, which was long ago thought to be emotionally deadened, and it was from these smouldering embers that the OUN was created, unabashedly and intrepidly daring revolution against seemingly indomitable odds. And if continuity over an extended period of time can be considered at least a moderate measure of success, then the OUN movement and the revolutionary struggle it initiated and led for the last 50 years in Ukraine can indeed boast of success, although the final goal of the OUN still remains to be achieved.

It seems that any sort of ideological ferment is most ardently pronounced in a society, which finds itself in fatalistically unbearable conditions. This unbearableness is a subjective condition, depending on the level of consciousness and a set of previously cultivated expectations of the oppressed individual, or group of individuals. This subjective content of oppression was evidently present in Ukraine in the post World War I period. Usually, following a period of unfulfilled rising expectations, or a duration of highly-intensified psychological preparation followed by almost instantaneous remorseful disappointment, as was the case with the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1918, followed by the immediate bloody destruction of Ukrainian statehood by invading Bolshevik forces, — in such cases, this ideological ferment can easily accrue by a self sustained process of growing aggravation with existing objective conditions and finally develop into a distinct revolutionary consciousness harnessed and organized as a viable political force, a dynamic revolutionary movement. Without this ideology, the growing aggravation of an oppressed people will quickly dissipate, since they will not be able to effectively direct their pent-up anger in an oppressed society. Also, this ideology will hardly be effective, unless it becomes concretely objectified in a dynamic revolutionary movement, unless a number of individuals are found who live and die by this political creed. It was precisely for this reason that the OUN was created.

An ideology ought to present its adherents with a clear set of values, textured by the tissue of revolutionary ethics and principles, presented within the framework of an easily identifiable and relatable set of political formulae. It ought to present a clear cognitive structure, by which an individual can observe and interpret his world. In direct contrast to the Marxian-Mannheimian approach which treated the concept of ideology as an exploitative instrument of the ruling class by which it rationalized the existing repressive economic

divisions in society¹, the idealist conception of ideology as a catalyst to dynamic action, a voluntarist tool of faith, was indeed integral to the nationalist movement in Ukraine. Hannah Arendt has labelled this political phenomenon as an individual's "sixth sense".² Every sophisticated ideology presents a vision, which in turn cultivates a political faith in society, from which "political soldiers" are created. A political soldier, or a revolutionary, who does not possess this crucial sixth ideological sense, will soon be degraded to a mere fanatic, whose integral purposive cognitive structure has become impugned with catastrophic irrationality. This is not to say, that a revolutionary ideology necessarily must be "rational". But, there ought to be some rational base in that individual's subjective consciousness. A fanatic will quickly die on the political battle-front; a true political soldier, a true revolutionary never dies, but instead becomes a permanent fixture-symbol never to be effaced, further inciting and motivating others to even greater deeds of heroism. It was this heroic ideal of life, promulgated by the OUN, that was crucial in the process of re-educating the Ukrainian nation in the 1930's.

For the purposes of this study, an attempt will be made to thoroughly examine and analyze the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, with foremost emphasis being put on its revolutionary nature. Any all-embracing ideological system ought to present an interpretation of the past an explanation of the present, and a vision of the future. These three factors must also be applied to our analysis of the ideology of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, concurrently taking into consideration the existing internal and external realities and exigencies.

Basically, this presentation will also focus on the following four fundamental and pivotal points, crucial in the study of any revolutionary theory: 1) why revolution — the alternative paths to change considered, evaluated, and then the reasons for discarding these alternatives; why is revolution considered to be absolutely necessary; the accommodation of the theory to more gradual forms of change such as reform, parliamentary procedure, or moderate shift in the foci of power: 2) where — the explicit and unique anchor-setting of the revolution; the situational imperatives, presumed by the theory and the manner in which it proposes to mold and latter utilize this specific situational context for the revolution's particular purposes; 3) who — the established sociological core of the revolutionary process; the relation of this core to the tangible periferies of the revolutionary struggle; 4) how — the conceptual strategy and the moral "categorical imperative" of the goals of the struggle and their relation to

1) See Marx, K., *The German Ideology*, and Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*.

2) Arendt, Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (New York. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1973).

these specific strategical imperatives; the role of violence as it is anticipated by the theory; the inner rationalization and legitimacy of the revolutionary authority of the coercive regime.

A. Dmytro Donzow — the re-education of the Ukrainian nation.

The primary contribution, that can be directly attributed to Dmytro Donzow, is his successful re-education of a considerable portion of the Ukrainian people, particularly the leading intellectual elite in Ukraine in the 1920's and 30's. His "action" nationalism replaced the inflated bombast, the pseudo-intellectual, effete and decaying currents of "provincialism", so prevalent among the past generation of political activists in the national movement in Ukraine.

The inner, primary, guiding principle in Donzow's political theory is the "will", which he interpreted mainly as a psychic phenomenon. Many of his prolific ideas were actually borrowed from world-renowned political theorists and philosophers, such as Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. Donzow was also quite familiar with the basic tenets of a varied host of other political philosophers, most notably Aristotle, Bergson, Hegel, and even Marx. However, what is indeed significant and original about Donzow is that he managed to develop a viable theoretical synthesis of all these ideas and then appropriate this theory to the Ukrainian struggle, which resulted in a more dialectically sound, highly convincing and emotionally dynamic theory of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism.

Donzow's "will" is to be understood as something, which carries its end, its final cause, or its *raison d'être* within itself (similar to Aristotle's concept of "entelechy", or Hegel's concept of "actuality" as opposed to "potentiality"); the will is the "life-vital elan" (Bergson) in every individual. This will manifests itself primarily in every individual as the "will to life", which acts "itself from itself" (Schopenhauer). Much of Donzow's political writings were imbued with a metaphysical quality, very Hegelian in nature. He believed, that the will is the peculiar essence of every "individual spirit". Furthermore, Donzow attempted to construct a national ideology, which was founded on this understanding of the individual will, as the primary characteristic of each "individual spirit". Hence, in so much as every nation had its own unique and determining "spirit", the primary force behind this spirit was the "national will". Although Donzow also spoke of a "national psyche", his theory was not strictly a psycho-analytic elaboration on the Ukrainian nation at present could launch a most effective struggle for her future.

Fundamentally, Donzow was an idealist, albeit not in the sense of an apologetic Wilsonian idealism. Rather, his idealism was rooted in the hard and tangible realities of life. Donzow believed, that the "idea" was the primary motive-force of all history, which was the diametrical opposite of the prevailing socialism and cosmopolitanism

of the past generation. In fact, Donzow regarded it as his solemn mission to undercut the ideological strength of these socialist doctrines, in the process exposing what he perceived to be the essentially capitulative instinct, that they nurtured in their principal adherents.

There are three basic and characteristic peculiarities of Donzow's will, which he identified and defined in a phenomenological context: "direction", "recognition", and "sensation". Developing this further, he elaborated on his concept of the will as pertaining to three related and essential attributes: "the will to live", "the will to rule (authorize)", and "the will to expand". Donzow went on to stipulate that as every other cellular and organic community, a nation also has its particular will, which emerges from its "defining spirit". Hence a nation must always foster and cultivate this "national will" from one generation to the next, since every nation lives and dies by this will. It is the role of the "national idea" to strengthen this exclusive national will, by rendering it conscious of its aims and by guiding and impelling it toward these aims. Donzow writes:

"If Ukraine intends to rise above the level of a lowly province, she must create within herself, besides a will to rule, an all-encompassing idea, capturing both the politics and the economics of the nation, answering all apolitical and internationalist doctrines with an impersonal war. For our purposes, an allworldly or social idea is of no value, if it is not encompassed within a national idea, which resolutely declares its final ideal of self-rule against foreign — and even internal — powers, who can only shackle the nation's energy. The nation is the only vital force in international relations."³

The influence of Donzow's *Nationalism* can be clearly discerned not only in the ideological and programatic resolutions and premises of the organized Ukrainian liberation movement, but also in the day-to-day revolutionary praxis of the OUN cadres, as well as in the underground literature of the post-war period. Invariably, it was the guiding factor in the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, at which the OUN was formed. Therefore, among the principal contributions of Dymtro Donzow was that he managed to reveal and present the Ukrainian people with a comprehensive theory, or a conceptual strategy of struggle, that remains appropriate and progressive even today, retaining its peculiar aura-setting of immeasurable pathos.

Another essential attribute of Donzow's conception of a "national idea", in addition to the will to live, rule, and expand, is a consciousness of struggle. Donzow was firmly convinced, that this consciousness of struggle, which he maintained is always on the alert in a healthy nation, is an indispensable, but not the sole sufficient factor, which will ultimately determine the success of a liberation movement.

3) Donzow, Dymtro, *Nationalism*, (London. Ukrainian Publishers limited, 1966), p. 325.

Futhermore, it was Donzow's avowed belief, that this revolutionary consciousness can only be created and promoted through an irresistible revolutionary praxis. An individual becomes inspired and cleansed in the process of the struggle, and, therefore, the struggle contains a moral quality within itself, inherent in the moral force of the goal toward which it irresistably strives. This in part explains the over-bearing emphasis on a cult of struggle and a cult of heroism in Donzow's writings. A heroic deed was considered to be a creative act by Donzow. Hence, despite the obvious destruction, which accompanies every revolutionary struggle, it was Donzow's understanding, that the future Ukrainian National Revolution would be a creative, but forceful act of national self-determination, a manifestation of Ukraine's irresistible national will.

Donzow was essentially an elitist, in that he believed, that the real power of a nation always lies in that nation's "active minority" and rightfully so, since without this elite a nation would not be able to develop properly and establish its right to rule.

Another fundamental concept in Donzow's theoretical system is the principle of "creative coercion". This is the factor without which no novel idea will be capable of objectifying itself as a concrete and viable political entity. Basing himself on Spengler, Donzow argued that this principle is a natural expression of Western (e.g., "Occidental") civilization, "a genius of the Faustian man". The distinguishing characteristics of this principle are: "the overcoming of resistance, activism, decisiveness, self-consolidation..., a struggle against fleeting impressions..., against the particular, tangible and assaulting presentation of that which is general (universal) and continuing.... The essence of creative coercion is the will, which separates the Faustian spiritual portrait from all others."⁴

Donzow continually emphasized, that in order to realize one's national idea, what was necessary was an irrefutable affirmation of one's own particular "truth", and the concurrent negation of everything foreign and inimical to this "truth" of the nation. This undeniable, resolute belief in oneself, in one's own integral strength, Donzow labelled, in his peculiar political syntax, as "romanticism". In relation to this, Donzow argued that all of Ukraine's troubles are tied with her artificial link with the "spirit of Moscow", which he held as most inimical and deadly to the Ukrainian national "truth". Hence, in order for Ukraine to achieve a higher political level, everything associated with Russia had to be eliminated from the Ukrainian soul and psyche.

Other important characteristics of Donzow's voluntarist nationalism are "fanaticism" and "amorality". He maintained that most lofty ideas would have little force without certain concomitant emotional effects. These emotions or effects may take the form of a "fanatical"

4) Ibid.

creed. Donzow further stated, that any political faith will only have bearing on the future development of political events when that faith is instilled in the masses and is concretely objectified in a viable political movement. This "fanaticism" was not treated by Donzow as some sort of blind faith, but instead as an ever-readiness to commit oneself totally in the name of that ideal. In this sense, a "fanatic"-revolutionary will always be aggressive in defending his ideals and uncompromisingly intolerant to any other convenient interpretations.

With regard to Donzow's "amorality", he never pursued an ambivalent indifference to ethical criteria, or a haughty disdain to principles of moral idealism. Instead, Donzow in his writings continuously admonished the moral suppositions of a "provincial" individual, as he aptly depicted the Ukrainian intellectual elite of the past generation, who regarded as unethical anything that threatened their material well-being or directly endangered their lives. A provincial will scrutinize any general national interest by first measuring it up against his own particular and solely private cares and interests. For Donzow, from a point of perspective of the national liberation struggle, the only "moral imperative" was the nation itself.

In retrospect, it would be fair to say, that Donzow's resolute and merciless castigation of the intellectual elite of Ukraine actually nurtured a new generation of Ukrainians, a generation of young and uncompromising revolutionaries, who later constituted the majority of the membership of the OUN. These very same young radicals took over the dust-covered mantle of leadership of the national movement in Ukraine, by the force of their own will and determination, and instilled in the Ukrainian people new hope and reason to once again believe in themselves. The OUN was not simply an isolated political party. It represented the will of an entire nation and managed to effectively organize this will into a concrete political force. In this respect, Donzow's self-proclaimed mission was fulfilled — the re-education of the Ukrainian people on the foundations of a dynamic and revolutionary national ideology was accomplished. His influence was left imbedded in the sublimed Ukrainian national organism and a challenging revolutionary consciousness was carved into the Ukrainian spirit, intellect and psyche.

B. The Ideology: "Freedom for Nations. Freedom for the Individual."

In the first programmatic resolution adopted at the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1929, it is stated that "Ukrainian Nationalism is a spiritual and political movement, which was conceived from the essential nature of the Ukrainian Nation during the epoch of her forceful struggle for the foundation and the aims of a creative existence."⁵ The concept of a "nation", as a metaphysical and organic

⁵OUN V *Dokumentakh*, op. cit., p. 3

construct of "the dead, the living, and those yet unborn" (Taras Shevchenko) was integral to the Ideology of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement and to its externally organized expression — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The nation was regarded as the "highest type of organic individual community."⁶ In a strictly idealist, quasi-Hegelian framework, "the idea of a nation" was regarded as that factor, which "ascertains and sets into motion her (the nation's, R.Z.) historical determination."⁷ Jaroslav Stetsko, a leading ideologue of the OUN even at its inception and the current leader of the Organization, refers to the concept of a nation as "the basis of our civil-political world-view; it is a natural category, a value in itself." He writes further —

"The nation is the highest spiritual and organic community, which crystalized and grew out of certain definite historic, geopolitical, economic, and sociopolitical conditions, as aliving, self-authorized substance.... The Ukrainian individual indissoluble constituent component of the Ukrainian nation. The well-being of his national community is the highest goal of an individual on this earth."⁸

The individual is a central concept in the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, in contrast to various fascist or even "integral" nationalist belief-systems. All the literature published under the formal and informal auspices of the OUN emulates the individual as an original, creative and self-authoritative being, endowed with certain basic and inalienable human rights, garnished with an integral will, and sublimed within a substantive moral-ethical frame of reference. However, it was the contention of the nationalist theorists in Ukraine, that insofar as the rights of an individual emulate from the rights and authority of his nation to independent self-rule then when the nation is bounded by conditions of foreign subjugation, the individual also is rendered alienated from his subjective creative existence within the national organism. In such conditions, the individual can maintain his dignity by actively engaging in a struggle against the foreign oppressors. In the resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the OUN, held in 1968, it is stated:

"Man-individual is not only a physical part of the national society but also an active and formulating factor of national life... It is in the national interest to guarantee to every individual conditions favorable to his complete development and self-expression in free work, in the manner that the boundaries of freedom of an individual, the ways and forms of satisfaction of his private interests and needs are defined and regulated by the freedom and rights of all other individuals, by the needs and interests of the nation as a whole."⁹

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸ Stetsko, J., "The Dynamic Slogans of our Struggle", *Ukraina Protiv Moscovy* (Munich, OUN, 1955).

⁹ *Kyiv versus Moscow* (Munich. OUN Publications, 1968), p. 40.

Conversely, in what sets it off from the individualistic liberalism of the 19th and 20th centuries, Ukrainian nationalism regards the family as the "basic cell" of the nation; "the preserver and the guarantee of the moral and physical health of the national community — (the family) is the approximating value of our social standards within the frame of the national general good."¹⁰ Furthermore, it is only within the framework of a formal state structure (understood as a nation-state) that all three components (the individual, the family, and the nation) can possess the full liberty to expand upon their creative capacity. The state was regarded by the OUN as "the highest form of existence and the solitary guarantee of development for the nation"¹¹ This instrumental apotheosis of the state is justified by OUN nationalist theory by the claim that the state "is a permanent embodiment of the will of the nation and the individual."¹²

The ideals of freedom and justice were regarded by the OUN as the highest goals of all humanity; their realization was the deciding principle, the frontal kingpin of the entire nationalist movement in Ukraine. All of history was interpreted as a process which developed toward the realization of this principle. Jaroslav Stetsko writes: "All the great epochs in the history of man, of various peoples and nations, all known revolutions or other cataclysms were motivated and were made in the name of justice and liberty."¹³ This freedom and justice could only be realized in the world on national foundations, according to a national principle. Stetsko further elaborates on this thesis "National political self-determination and the distinction of statehood for all peoples and personal liberty for all people regardless of race, language, wealth, guaranteed within the construct of a just socio-political order — only this can be the actualization of the ideas of freedom and justice in the current stage of development of humanity."¹⁴

At first glance, the above concepts of the OUN do not seem to be of a revolutionary calibre. However, when one takes into account the existing conditions that prevail in the USSR, e.g., total national oppression and the complete regimentation of all aspects of life, Ukrainian nationalism is more than simply a revolutionary force in the USSR; its aim poses revolutionary consequences for the entire world, since with the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian Empire the geo-political situation in the world is radically altered.

10) Stetsko, *op. cit.*, p. 316

11) *Ibid.*

12) Kyiv vs. Moscow, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

13) Stetsko, *op. cit.*, p. 316

14) *Ibid.*

C. The Cult of Struggle.

The concept of struggle is central to all OUN ideology and propaganda, in that it was understood as a positive, as well as an essential instrument of mobilization. The major proponents of the Ukrainian nationalist movement promulgated a mystical "cult of struggle". Acts of heroism were glorified and immortalized in the official literature of OUN circles. Yearly gatherings of OUN cadres were organized throughout all of Ukraine, inculcated with an atmosphere of solemnity, to commemorate the memory of their fallen comrades. The aim of such gatherings was to create an internal mystique, which surrounded the entire movement, to the point that when the Organization was so much as mentioned, the ensuing conversation would invariably be carried in an atmosphere of respectful admiration. This mystified aura of the OUN had a carry-over effect on the immediate enemies of the nationalist movement in Ukraine, to the degree that the OUN is still feared throughout the entire USSR by Moscow's lackeys.

On a conceptual plane, with regard to the possibilities of liberation the concept of struggle, its prior necessity, was regarded as axiomatic. Despite the obvious psychological and motivational value of this cult of struggle, the inner determinism of a necessity of struggle is the aspect that is most significant as regards the theory of revolution as projected by the OUN on a conceptual level. Any theoretical or political current, which argued that the liberation of the Ukrainian people would come as a result of an automatic evolutionary process, was disdainfully and categorically rejected by the OUN Petro Poltava, a leading OUN theorist and prolific journalist, adequately expressed the attitude of the OUN leadership:

"Ukrainian nationalism... rejects the view that the independence of the Ukrainian people can come as the result of an 'organic', peaceful, 'automatic' evolution... There is no known case in history where any subjugated nation liberated itself 'automatically', without a military struggle, without sacrifices, without the prior desire to liberate oneself no matter what the cost".

D. Why Revolution? — a total war situation.

Once the imperative of a struggle was accepted by the nationalist movement, the essential strategic formula, which would best utilize all of Ukraine's inherent forces and strength, had to be formulated... The leaders of the OUN, as any other insurrectionary group, were well aware of their relative weaknesses, when compared to the physical and military resources available to their enemies. The real revolutionary forces available to the OUN movement had to be maximized, to the degree that the losses inflicted upon the occupational reg-

ime by the insurrectionary forces would be fully aggrandized, whereas the losses of the revolutionary movement would be proportionately minimized and limited to the absolutely necessary. This bi-polar and opposite intensification of the effects of the struggle were to be directed against the "weakest links" of the imperialist system, thereby negating the essential defensive bulwarks of the counter-revolution. Such a concept of a total war, utilizing maximal effort and means of struggle was best formulated by the leader of the revolutionary OUN — Stephan Bandera. In his writings Bandera managed to elaborate a consistent and theoretically sound program of revolutionary strategy and principles.

Bandera argued, that insofar as Ukraine's struggle involved absolute stakes, since the very essence of an entire nation was directly threatened, this struggle needed to encompass all the maximal means of resistance at the movement's disposal. On a conceptual level, this concept of a maximal total war struggle had to be concretely defined which first and foremost required the clear elucidation of a set of principles of struggle. It was in the process of elucidating these principles, that Bandera established the necessity of appropriating a distinct revolutionary principle to the national-liberation struggle in Ukraine. For Bandera, revolution was the very basis of the liberation concept and thus was absolutely necessary for the life, self-existence, and further development of the Ukrainian nation. It was the only way by which the physical and spiritual life-engendering forces of the Ukrainian nation could be protected and revived.

The immediate and long-range goals of a particular struggle and the path, or the means by which that goal is to be achieved cannot be regarded as two distinct and isolated factors. The one has a direct bearing on the other; the form and content of one factor influences itself an emanation of the other factor. This point is significant in regard to the national liberation struggle of Ukraine. Since the struggle for Ukraine's independence was by its essential nature a struggle for the highest moral and political absolutes in life, being that the further existence of the Ukrainian nation was harshly threatened by the imperialist policies of Moscow, the struggle itself had to acquire an absolute character. Hence, as a matter of principle, the OUN revolutionary "provid" was of the opinion, that an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State could only be achieved through a national revolution, on the premise, that this was the only means of mobilizing the absolute potential of the Ukrainian nation in her struggle. From this it logically follows, that if the means of struggle are diffused, or diluted in any which way, then the aims of that struggle also become diffused and thus victory becomes all the more of a remote possibility.

It is not to be understood, however, that the revolutionary "provid" under Bandera's leadership did not take into consideration alternate

paths of liberation, or establish for itself a set or realizable contingencies, given that the international and situational imperatives were to be considerably altered by some unforeseen change in the course of events and the repercussions that this change would have on the movement as a whole. At its inception, however, there was no real need for the OUN leadership to justify a national revolution. Its major problem was with various para-legal Ukrainian parties, especially, those which propagated a semi-defeatist attitude, concurrently gearing the movement along quasi-legalist paths.

The major, consciously recognized function of the OUN in this early epoch of its existence was the psychological preparation of the Ukrainian people for the requirements, both physical and mental, of the inevitable struggle: this preparation and mobilization first had to be implemented on the level of principle, and, secondly, the concurrent cultivation of imbedded revolutionary forces and processes, beginning with individual acts of sabotage and culminating in the formation, mobilization, indoctrination and final establishment of partisan military units. It was only later, when internal polemics within the OUN itself, somewhat instigated by the problematics of organizational growth, but mostly the result of a clear, dichotomised dispute over the principles of struggle, threatened to immobilize and enervate the Ukrainian nationalist movement and the Organization as a viable political force, that the necessity of expressing and justifying a set of revolutionary principles became evident. Only then did Bandera and his closest followers have to make a reassessment (not necessarily to be understood as an alteration) of political priorities and thereby give a principled reply to the basically watered-down alternatives of struggle being pursued by the Melnyk-faction. This imperative was all the more accentuated by the collaboratist position *visa-a-vis* Nazi Germany being pursued by Melnyk-led PUN. Furthermore, a final demarcation of the circumference of available contingencies had to be formulated by the revolutionary OUN leadership, beyond which any strategic-political or tactical-operational constructs were not to be formulated. The revolutionary OUN's position was best summarized in the following resolution of The Second Conference of the OUN, held in April, 1942: "We regard the way of national revolution as the only right form of struggle. We believe, that our final victory depends on the mobilization and development of the inherent revolutionary forces of the entire people, united under one revolutionary-political leadership of the OUN. For this reason, we are in resolute opposition to any orientation on international aid, on the passive bidding of time and the creation of cadres in foreign state- systems — regarding all this as demobilizing and therefore harmful to the Ukrainian liberation struggle."

Although the leaders and the principal ideologues of the OUN recognized, that their primary enemy, against whom the final battle would have to be waged and in opposition to whom all efforts would

have to be concentrated, was Russia, or more precisely — Bolshevik imperialism in its totality, they also realized, that directly due to the international cataclysm of the Second World War, they were being forced to contend with two powerful, essentially chauvanistic imperialisms, both which were inimically hostile to Ukraine's liberation struggle. In spite of the apparent hopelessness of leading a struggle on two fronts — against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, the revolutionary OUN continued to remain resolute in their declarations and concrete policies. It was held, as a matter of principle, that a struggle must be waged against any foreign state, that decides to forcefully occupy even one hectare of Ukrainian land. Most typical was the following declaration of the Third Conference of the OUN held in February, 1943:

"At the moment, Ukraine finds herself between the hammer and anvil of two inimical imperialisms — Moscow and Berlin, which, in equal measure, treat her as a colonial object. In their independence struggle, the Ukrainian people are confronted with a series of obstacles, which are the result of the unfamiliarity of other countries with the Ukrainian issue, the counter-actions of the historical enemies of Ukraine, and is the consequence of the fact, that the current war is being waged over the interests of the great imperialist states, who harness other countries to their interests and thereby disregard the rights of these countries to self-determination and national statehood. For this reason, it is an absolute necessity that the Ukrainian people wage a struggle against both imperialisms, from the platform of our own integral strength, and placing as the foundation of cooperation with other countries the recognition of our right to a national state and on this plane seek the common interests of western and eastern peoples in a common struggle against German, Russian and other imperialisms."

And in Addition:

"Essentially accepting the fact, that Ukraine in her struggle against dual imperialisms — the German and Russian-bolshevik — holds a key position, we confirm, that without the dissolution of both of these imperialisms in Ukraine, therefore, without the establishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State, it is impossible to establish lasting sovereign national states of the European peoples, especially of the subjugated peoples of eastern, central, northern, and southern Europe, on the foundation of a lasting peace."

E. The national idea — the progressive, revolutionary force of history; "Kyiv versus Moscow" — two diametrically opposed antipodes.

So as to counterpose the messianistically, traditionally-Russian interpretation of "Pan-slavism", an essentially Russian Ideal, Ukrainian nationalism had to develop a sense of mission of its own, deriving

its strength from the intrinsic inner dynamism of the Ukrainian national spirit, the Ukrainian national ideal and the liberation struggle itself. This national ideal had to be approximated to the ideology and character of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and thereby establish its own interpretation of the world historical process, in just a position to a defined concrete definition of the "world spirit", or the "zeitgeist" which defined the evolution of all human political-historical processes. The point was to counter-pose the Russian communist, integrally imperialist ideal of "world revolution", which was essentially regarded by the OUN as a messianistic, chauvinistic cover for the imperialist designs of Moscow, with an equally potent ideal, through which the movement could accrue respect within as well as without nationalist circles. Hence, the concept of "Kyiv versus Moscow", representative of two contradictory-to-the-core, diametrically opposed worlds, was conceived.

Succinctly, the OUN put forth the thesis, that the Ukrainian dilemma is the revolutionary problem facing all of humanity, which requires a final resolution if the world is to avoid another cataclysmic clash and if history is to continue to evolve in a progressive, constructive manner. The umbilical cord of the theory was the assumption, that the liberation struggle of Ukraine, and of all the subjugated nations in the USSR, is by no means an isolated matter. In countenance of the fact, that the Bolshevik leaders present the USSR as the ideal and the foremost standard-bearer of marxist-communism in the world, the OUN presented Revolutionary Ukraine as the very essence of a progressive, historical-political process.

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News from Ukraine

VASYL STUS IMPRISONED

Vasyl Stus, a leading Ukrainian writer and poet, has again been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and five years exile for "contempt of the Soviet Government".

Vasyl Stus is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

He was born in 1938 in the Vinnytsky region. As a young man he did army service and then became interested in literary work and teaching.

In 1964 he started his PhD at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences but he was expelled the following year for defending imprisoned Ukrainian patriots. In June, 1966, Vasyl Stus was sacked from his job as research assistant at the Kyiv historical archives centre.

Vasyl Stus worked as an ordinary labourer building the Kyiv metro and continued to campaign in defence of imprisoned activists. He was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to five years imprisonment and three years exile.

After his release, Vasyl Stus lived in Kyiv, under KGB surveillance and the victim of persecution.

Vasyl Stus is the author of an anthology of poems entitled "Zymovi Dereva" and numerous essays devoted to the defence of persecuted Ukrainian patriots.

WOMAN ACTIVIST IMPRISONED

Olha Heyko-Matusevych, a 28-year-old member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group has been sentenced to three years imprisonment for "slandering" the Soviet Government.

Olha Heyko-Matusevych is the wife of Mykola Matusevych, who was arrested in April, 1977, 15 months after their marriage, and sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years exile for his part in organising the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

The KGB had hounded Olha Heyko-Matusevych since her husband's imprisonment. She was refused permission to emigrate from the USSR and was arrested in March this year.

POET ARRESTED

A Ukrainian poet and journalist, Ivan Sokulsky, was arrested in April this year on charges of anti-Soviet agitation.

Sokulsky was born in 1942. He studied languages in Lviv University where he took part in activities organised by the patriotic youth "club" which was dispersed by the KGB.

He worked as a journalist and poet but from 1968 onwards was hounded by the authorities and could not find a job commensurate with his qualifications. He became a sailor on a river boat. He was arrested in June, 1969, for distributing a document condemning the prohibition of celebrations to mark an anniversary connected with Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko, and other documents critical of the Government. He was charged with "crimes against the state".

He was sentenced to four and a half years imprisonment in the Mordovian camps. After his release he was kept under surveillance by the KGB. Ivan Sokulsky's fate after his last arrest is not yet known.

HELSINKI GROUP MEMBER SENTENCED

Vitaliy Kalynchenko, a founder member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, was sentenced in June this year (1980) to seven years imprisonment followed by three years exile.

Kalynchenko was born in 1938 in Dnipropetrovsk region. He was arrested on October 29, 1979, and had been kept in custody since that date.

He worked as an engineer in Leningrad until the time of his arrest.

Kalynchenko was first arrested in June, 1966, after his plans to escape from the USSR by crossing over the Finnish border were betrayed. He was sentenced in January, 1967, to 10 years imprisonment. After his release, Kalynchenko found himself under the constant surveillance of the police.

Kalynchenko renounced his Soviet citizenship in September, 1977. None of his relatives or friends were allowed to be present at his trial.

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THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

(Part four)

The methods of socialist realism — expressed through party directives and party dogma — force our literature and its creators to perform narrow, definitive functions, which they are forced to fulfill assiduously. This is intended to induce assimilation, to suppress national consciousness through the manipulation of human behaviour and to force Ukraine into being the pale shadow of the hegemonist. This reduces literature to a base and synthetic level, and deprives it of its humanistic calling — to act in the name of the deprived. It prevents the development of national culture and reduces the individual to a conformist, into a mere labourer. And a labourer-conformist is a mere serf, and as he becomes a mass phenomenon, he becomes a social factor that is a submissive body to the party caste and the imperial machine of the ruling nation, and thus contributes to the totalitarian-conformist social order which degrades individuality — with surrogates replacing genuine artistic and human values in all areas of human life, but primarily in the area of the human spirit and ethics.

Shackled by the slogan “national in form, socialist in content” each of the national literature (except the Russian) is not only weak but within the last decade a sharp reversal to “Zhdanovism” and “Stalinism” has been made, i.e. the limits for creative potential have been reduced even further than before. The idealisation of positive personalities, of national and spiritual superiority and national cosmopolitanism — these are the directive and primary dogmas that should guide each national literature.

Let us take as an example several novels that have been published within the last few years, novels that have been widely acclaimed as “achievements” and “literary gains” of Ukrainian literature. These include “Rozhin” by Zahrebelny, “Bila Tin” by Mushketyk, “Krovna Sprava” by Andriyashko and Hryhoruk’s “Kanal”. None of these novels excel themselves although one could not dispute the talent of the authors’ “technical production”. However, the answer to the question of whether Ukrainian culture has been enriched or benefited in any way by the contribution of these novels is a negative one. For example, the only national element that Zahrebelny’s novels contain are the settings and the names of the characters. For the rest, reality, relations between people and the communist hierarchy, the socialist background, relations of production, social optimism and harmony are extremely idealised and glorified beyond recognition. Due to a lack of space in this essay — the evaluation of the novel as a whole has to be simplified. All the novels are written with some sort of style but despite the fact that they all obviously deal with different characters, it is extremely difficult to differentiate between the books

none of which make any distinguished contribution to the field of Ukrainian literature. They are all panegyrics written on command of the party hierarchy, in the name of the construction of communism. Is this not concrete evidence showing how reality is falsified; of the mutilation of the real life of workers, peasants, intellectuals; of the negation of the national consciousness of Ukrainians — and thus of the decay of Ukrainian literature? However, these novels are rated as the “most valuable contributions” that our literary process has gained within the last few years.

In this same period of time, anyone who has dared even to hint at a national spirit, of the rebirth of the national character and who has dared discuss our national problems has been persecuted. The same Andriyashko who has already contributed several novels to Ukrainian literature, including “Poltava” which is destined to leave its mark on history, was severely criticised — and immediately — for the very reasons given above. His novel, which was printed in a small edition, was banned, and the author himself was excluded from literary life for many years. Honchar — for writing “Sobor”, a novel impregnated with the national spirit — was attacked by Moscow’s imperial press and a slander campaign was conducted against the author in the Ukrainian press. Ivanchuk’s “Malva”, written exceedingly well, with sound political thinking, was mercilessly criticised and his ensuing and far superior work “Kalnyshevsky” was banned even before publication. Bilyh’s interesting historical novel “Mech Yareya” and in particular his brilliant addendum on the pre-history of the nation, was brutally criticised, but not on the basis of any sound arguments or evidence, but solely from the stance of the imperial ideology. (This, while Yakov, a Russian chauvinist, proves on the basis of “original” historical archives that Achilles was Russian by origin. No doubt similar proof will follow showing the Russian origin of Caesar, Cleopatra and Solomon, and will similarly be widely published and acclaimed.

The creative works of a highly talented Ukrainian author — Oles Berdnyk — the sole author-idealist making any contribution to our present literature — is totally banned, and all his previously published books have been removed from all libraries and destroyed. This original and brilliant artist has been expelled from the Union of writers, has long ceased to have his works published in Ukraine (although some of his works had earlier been translated in Poland and other foreign countries.) For his uncompromising patriotism, dedication to Ukraine and to her national interests, he is brutally and systematically persecuted, repressed and defamed in the press. Other renowned Ukrainian cultural activists are also disparaged and repressed in this same way. For their creativity and convictions the poets Ihor Kalynets and Vasyl Stus, the artists Opynas Zalyvakha and Stefania Shabatura, the literary critics Ivan Svitlychny and Evhen Sverstiuk,

the journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, the publicist Valentyn Moroz and many others have been imprisoned in concentration camps. Lina Kostenko, Lyudmyla Skyrda, Iryna Zhylenko, Iryna Kalynets, Ihor Kalynets, Vasyl Stus, Holoborodko, Korzhun, Mykola Vinhranovsky and Roman Kudlyk have been eliminated from the literary process for over a decade. One of the most authoritative Ukrainian authors — Antonenko-Davydovych and the uniquely talented translator of world classics — Mykola Lukash find themselves in the same position. Deprived of the right to work and thus to contribute to Ukrainian culture are the writer Plachynda, the critic Ivasenko, the well known historian Braichevsky. Similary hundreds of young talented people, as for example Valeriy Shevchuk, Hryhoriy Tyutyunyk, Yaroslav Stupak — who could so easily become the pride of Ukrainian culture — are totally isolated from the Ukrainian creative process and are deprived of any means of expression. Les' Tanyuk — one of the most talented modern theatre directors has been deprived of working in the Ukrainian theatre by being exiled in Moscow. Thousands of Ukrainian theatre and cinema directors and actors now enrich Russian culture by working in Moscow, Leningrad and in other towns of the metropolis. This, while the level of opera and the theatre in Ukraine remain at provincial standards and are in a state of decline. Do these facts not speak for themselves? Do they not illustrate the destruction of the "progress" and prove the decline of Ukrainian culture? Does this not explain why our culture in Ukraine has not been able to produce one distinguished work of art which would meet universally recognised standards within the last half of the century? This — while in the same time-span Ukraine has contributed so much in fields that are not directly concerned with national matters.

The historical conditions of the colonial yoke

The following questions arise: why these processes have had a similar effect on Ukrainian culture and is this a natural phenomenon or has it been synthetically created? It would only be possible to give a complete analysis to these questions in numerous volumes of specialised monographs, each specifically concerned with these separate issues. The present Ukrainian underground — established in conditions of terror controlling the means of information is actively striving to explain these issues to the Ukrainian nation and to the world community through the samvydav (the underground press).

The reader is presented with brief explanations of the different aspects of the national problem, with emphasis being placed upon the assumption that he shall question and analyse these issues himself, and above all the underground movement hopes to gain the committed allegiance of youth to the Ukrainian liberation process. The multitude of reasons of why Ukrainian culture finds itself in this

position is the most salient issue — as it fully reflects the status of a captive nation. The reasons for this state of affairs were briefly mentioned above: they are the historical conditions created by the colonial yoke, by the mass assimilation of the elite and the loss of the nation's intellectuals. This process of destruction was initiated with the mass genocides perpetrated throughout the 1930's and 1940's by mass resettlements and assimilation; by the legal stance of socialist realism and by the Damocles' sword of terror suspended over artists — continually threatening to destroy them. But a great work can only be created in conditions where creative freedom exists; and it can only become an achievement of world culture on the condition that the artist is not only imbued with the full worth of human values but is also completely saturated with the national spirit. Ukrainian literature and culture not only do not have the full advantage of these conditions, but even the slightest manifestation of any organic creative national talent is crippled and oppressed. For the sake of objectivity it should be noted that the written word is subjected to a particularly ferocious control by the totalitarian regime — and even the dominant Russian literature is not able to produce a work worthy to achieve the world standard. When this control is applied to the world sphere of the national spirit the selection of intentions and strivings has a limitless field of activity. This shall be proved below by facts in as much that our culture suffers yet another phenomenon which adds to the reasons why Ukrainian art lags behind world achievements and which acts as further proof of the determination to weaken Ukrainian national culture, to reduce it to a low level and in the final result, is intended to completely assimilate it and thus to destroy it.

As has already been mentioned each national culture is proof of a nation's active existence (as seen through its creative processes) and it is its right to unlimited life — a life which has absorbed the spiritual and national gains of each preceding generation — a reciprocal, natural and harmonious synthesis of the past and present and of both humanitarian and national values. This is the founding basis for the functioning, progress and development of a national culture. Given that these are the conditions necessary for a culture to flourish how could it have even been expected that our culture could develop during the course of the last 50 years?

What the Ukrainian National Republic achieved in its few years of statehood — before it was brutally destroyed and Ukraine re-occupied — cannot even be compared to that which a nation can achieve through the right of self-determination. The slogan of "national problems" raised during the November 1917 Revolution were far from realised and during the course was far from even the minimum normally granted by national and cultural autonomy. Indeed the true situation during the period on the already occupied territory of Ukraine was not as it seemed, and Ukraine had already been absorbed

into the complex of the newly constructed Russian empire.

With the consolidation of the dictatorship and the implementation of its basic theoretical principals in all areas of social existence and in particular with the implementation of the thesis of two cultures in co-existence within one national culture — the relevant cultural policy was applied to all social components: to history, social thought, literature, art — resulting in the removal of great names and the most valuable spiritual richness of the nation from the existing cultural process — including the Russian. In the period when the dictatorship was again strengthened, the following thesis was introduced: with the construction and consolidation of socialist society — the class war is strengthened. In practice this means mass terror, directed in the first place against the creators and bearers of the cultures of the captive nations who are considered to be the mobilisers of centrifugal aspirations. Thus in the 1930's totalitarian pogromatic prohibition became the norm used against class inheritance, the national character of culture and which was applied to creative methods. The liquidation of creative freedom led to stagnation — caused by genocide and mass repressions which became the "norm of life" within the empire and the most active means used to maintain the dictatorship, causing regression, to an increasingly severe and extreme censorship. Books by prohibited authors were removed from both large and specialised libraries, and indeed whole libraries were burnt down (as they still are); historical, cultural and national monuments and relics were destroyed, as were churches, the priesthood, cultural funds, archive materials, historical sources, ancient and recent party (naturally not Bolshevik) and government documents that relate to history prior to the 1917 Revolution and in particular to that time when we had our statehood. During these years cynical Ukrainiophobia was openly adopted. The publication of many magazines was prohibited, many cultural institutions were liquidated, thousands of cultural activists were physically eliminated. The literary and general cultural process was reduced to the lowest level possible and had the appearance of an alcoholic who without any dignity whatsoever praised the occupier and glorified the suzerain and torturer. Not hundreds, but thousands of cultural activists were shot and destroyed in the concentration camps, thus raping, humiliating and destroying our culture — one of the many methods used to destroy the international character and the national spirit of nations.

During the 1930's practically every nation was embraced by ruin. However, despite this, the ruling Russian nation, powerful even in the face of an incompatible world outlook, incongruous creative methods and idealistic direction, did not recognise the extent of the human loss nor the destruction of the values of other nations, and in particular of the Ukrainian nation, and utilised — then as now — many privileges in its own development and in an attempt to aggrandise its global aims.

The victory won during the Second World War over its own counterpart (as regards state-political systems, desired aims) had one sole aim — world hegemony and not only the victory of Bolshevism over fascism.

Since that time the empire's apparatus has grown enormously and within the space of the last two decades the empire has emerged into the world arena as a super-power, while Russian national aspirations have proved to be one and the same as communist aspirations. This has resulted in the "rehabilitation" (either officially or furtively) of almost all Russian cultural activists. Their most important works are being reprinted and are being rated as irrefutable authorities and the pride of Russian culture.

These politics are without doubt correct, however, the nation has still not been able to extricate itself from the spiritual stranglehold of the Russian empire and fully benefit from its spiritual heritage. It is true that this mechanism was abandoned by previous governments — as they feared new ideas, movements and the desire for more freedom. The reformer Khrushchev understood this well and placed party control over the Russian elite, giving this process a progressive appearance — but which process the ruling elite is powerless against, and anyway does not even attempt to prevent. This is why it is completely normal that the present Russian generation has not heard of for example Solovyev, Leontev, Katayev, Kluchevsky.

Russians, including the Russian youth are widely and quite objectively (from the Russian point of view) familiar with the history of their nation and in particular of the history of the current empire, and most importantly this history is not profaned or desecrated. They are aware of the political line, of the programme and activities of all the parties and their activists from the time of the November Revolution to the present day. The external and internal imperial politics of czarism — apart from some undistinguished invasions — are completely sanctioned and have been prolonged into the present. True, ideology has been altered, and the tempo of change and some other nuances have also been affected. However, the practice of these policies is without precedent in its cynicism, crudeness, cruelty and perfidy. Firstly, in reference to the Ukrainian nation, the nation itself, its territory, economy, human resources and talents and also its historical process and autogeny — is seen as a threat to the existence of the empire, and from this fear, stem the policies of the regime.

(To be continued)

AMERICA SLAMS SOVIET UNION AT U.N.

The following, dated October 15, 1980, is a Statement in Right of Reply to the Soviet Union and Ukraine Speeches of October 13, 1980 and the Byelorussian Speech of October 14, 1980 at the United Nations by Marilyn Halt, United States Alternate Representative to the United Nations General Assembly Third Committee.

Yesterday and this morning, the representatives of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Byelorussia used meetings of the Third Committee as a platform for their standard line of national propaganda, while purporting to deliver speeches on the agenda items before us, they instead engaged in an unprincipled attack on my government, as well as on other governments represented here. The Soviet representatives have made distorted statements and false charges, Mr. Chairman, The United States does not wish to waste the valuable time of this committee by responding to each and every one of the false charges. Let me simply set the record straight by citing a few examples of the false propaganda and tired rhetoric expressed by the Soviet representatives.

The statements of the Soviet representatives would be almost amusing, were it not for direct Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, the use of Soviet surrogate military forces elsewhere, and Soviet oppression of formerly independent nations, as well as religious and ethnic minorities, throughout the Soviet empire.

My delegation was particularly interested yesterday to learn that the Soviet Union has at long last discovered Article 1 of the International Human Rights Covenants, which declares that "all peoples have the right of self-determination." *the Soviet speakers have each expressed a heartwarming concern about the welfare of people they claim are denied the right to self-determination. If they were still alive, the thousands of Afghan moslems killed by Soviet machine guns, Soviet Artillery, Soviet rockets, Soviet tanks, Soviet helicopter gunships, and, quite possibly, Soviet chemical weapons, would be fascinated to be made aware of the Soviet Union's concern for their rights of self-determination.* In like manner, the assertion that the Soviet Union is now the champion of self-determination will undoubtedly be most reassuring to the ethnic and religious groups within the Soviet Union. *My delegation is confident that within the Soviet Union the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanians, Estonians, Moslems, Tartars, Jews, and other oppressed peoples will greatly appreciate this radical change in Soviet policy which will permit them to exercise their right to self-determination.* In response to the assertion by the representative of the Soviet Union that his country has no economic ties with South Africa, let me briefly remind the committee of what we have previously said in the Fourth Committee and in this committee. Since 1976, the Soviet Union has marketed more than

one-half billion dollars of diamonds annually through the South African-controlled Central Selling Organization (CSO) of Debeers Ltd, statistics of the International Monetary Fund reveal millions of dollars in annual trade between the *Comecon* countries and South Africa, Soviet predatory fishing practices off the coast of Namibia provide no benefit to the people of Namibia and deplete the coastal fisheries of hundreds of thousands of metric tons of valuable fish annually, as disclosed by the statistics of the International Commission For South East Atlantic Fisheries.

With regard to Puerto Rico, I reiterate the position of my Government that it is inappropriate for a Committee of the general Assembly to discuss Puerto Rico, my Government has repeatedly declared its support for whatever decision the people of Puerto Rico make as to their future political status. The people of Puerto Rico regularly exercise their rights under democratic concepts, including freedom of political expression. This is also an inappropriate forum in which to discuss Micronesia, Micronesia is within the Jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council. The people of Micronesia will exercise their right to self-determination in a plebiscite to be held under U.N. observation.

A particularly entertaining portion of yesterday's presentation by the Soviet Union was its condemnation of possible intervention by Western Countries in the Middle East, *in view of actual Soviet intervention directly or indirectly in many parts of the world, this new Soviet policy of absolute abhorrence of intervention in and occupation of formerly sovereign states is very welcome indeed. We may now inform the people of Afghanistan that the nearly 100,000 Soviet combat troops presently occupying that sad country will be immediately withdrawn, and, considering the Soviet penchant for rewriting history, we should undoubtedly inform the people of certain countries that they never experienced the nightmare of trying to fight Soviet tanks with their bare hands.*

Finally, the Soviet Union accused my government of hypocrisy in its human rights policies. The United States is an open society, and its strengths, as well as its shortcomings, are on display for all the world to see. In contrast, however, *the peoples of the Soviet Empire will read reports in the government-controlled press of yesterday's and this morning's speeches by the Soviet representatives, but they will never be exposed to the truth in this right of reply, the Soviet Union is a party to innumerable human rights instruments but rarely pays the slightest attention to the terms of the conventions it has ratified or the declarations it has supported. In the field of Human Rights, ask religious groups about Soviet hypocrisy, ask the Helsinki Monitors about Soviet hypocrisy, ask the so-called political dissidents who merely seek to exercise the most basic of universal Human Rights and who are subject to brutal harassment, confinement in psychiatric hospitals, internal exile, and banishment to Soviet Labour*

Camps — ask them about Soviet hypocrisy, ask Sakharov about Soviet hypocrisy, ask the Islamic people of Afghanistan about Soviet hypocrisy — the list is endless of the human beings that have suffered human rights abuses at the hands of the Soviet Union and can testify with first-hand knowledge about Soviet hypocrisy.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation sincerely hopes that this committee, has heard the last of the intemperate and in-appropriate language to which we were subjected yesterday and today by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Byelorussia, *the grim record of Soviet human rights violations within its own empire and abroad is available for all to see*, and my delegation will not hesitate to respond to unfounded charges and outright falsehoods, such as those we heard yesterday, with the facts about what the Soviet Union does, as opposed to what it says it does. We now trust that this committee can return to the important work before it without further irrelevant interruptions from representatives of the Soviet Union.

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Roman SENKIW

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES IN THE LIGHT OF STRUCTURAL SHIFTS IN THE URBAN NETWORK DURING 1897-1979

This paper is based on a work submitted as part of the Concordia University Symposium on the Ukrainian national liberation movement, held last year.

Roman Senkiw is a member of the Ucrainica Research Institute, Ontario, Canada.

A list of dates of important historical note to Ukraine usefully supplements the paper.

National liberation movements are prevalent in virtually all corners of the globe today. By their very nature, they tend to encompass many aspects of social behaviour and thereby possess a formidable potential for disrupting existing national and international stability patterns. Consequently, this phenomenon has attracted extensive research. But, most of it has been qualitative in nature. Only recently have efforts been made to develop quantitative tools for measuring various features of this phenomenon, particularly as it relates to social violence¹.

This paper represents an attempt to develop a quantitative tool for the analysis of territorial stability characteristics. This is a feature of the national liberation phenomenon which has not yet received much attention.

The theoretical basis for an empirical tool to measure the territorial manifestations of a national liberation movement rests on the notion that human group activity can be viewed in terms of physically traceable energy potentials and flows.

The analytical tool itself is based on the rank size formula for urban network measurement. The formula when applied to Ukrainian data for 1897-1979 yields findings with an interesting pattern from the point of view of the Ukrainian national liberation phenomenon. One can draw some interpretations from the empirical data. However, it ought to be stressed that these interpretations are very tentative at this time. The norms against which the data was measured ought to be more closely verified. Also, it would be appropriate to test the specific technique for the U.S.S.R. itself as well as for other countries with similar urban characteristics. Even this might not be sufficient to draw very strong conclusions since Ukraine is rather unique. It is

¹ Thunell, Lars H., *Political Risks in International Business*, 1977; CIA, *Profile of Violence: An analytical Model*, June 1976.

an unusually large country in its own right, larger than France. In addition, it occupies a pivotal position within the U.S.S.R., which is one of the two superpowers in the world today. Unique factors such as these could have a distorting effect on the results. It might be necessary to adjust the measurement technique employed here before it could be made generally applicable for all countries.

In conclusion, a few observations are made on the urban demographic trends and recently observed shift in the character of the Ukrainian national liberation movement as these might relate in the 1980's.

Finally, it cannot be stressed enough that by its very nature, this paper is exploratory in character. Considerable further research of the literature as well as further empirical testing would be needed before one could confidently assert that one had a reliable new quantitative tool of social research. If all that this paper achieves is to provide a good starting point for more refined efforts, it would have served a valid purpose.

Human Energy Dynamics

The world today faces four great crises: population; food; fuel; and finance. These crises are not really new. They have been building since the closing decades of the last century. The novelty is that in the early 1970's these four realms have begun to emerge. As a result, we are witnessing a sharp decline of stability across the entire world arena.

In step with the emergence of these four crises, the world has also witnessed the rise of what are commonly referred to as national liberation movements. Much has been written on this phenomenon, but it is still not well understood. Quite often national liberation movements are identified as the causes of world instability. But, there is increasing reason to believe that the truth is precisely the reverse. National liberation movements appear to be a positive survival reaction of human societies in a deteriorating world environment. It may, therefore, be more useful to view such movements as symptoms rather than causes of the problem. Startling as it may seem, national liberation movements may turn out to be the principal mechanism for re-establishing stability in the world environment of the closing decades of the twentieth century.

Language can sometimes hide more than it reveals. The term "crisis" in English implies a turning point generally associated with disaster. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the Anglophone world has a subconscious aversion to crises. By contrast, the term in Chinese carries the more balanced meaning: "danger and opportunity". Such an interpretation of the term "crisis" recognizes that one can hope to attain a higher order of achievement or certainly only by first going through a phase involving greater ambiguity, less

certainty, more risk and more danger. It is not only high per capita income that makes the Western world look with apprehension upon national liberation movements. It is mainly the Western mental frame of mind which sees every disruption of the current status quo in a negative light. By contrast, Chinese, and other Third World eyes see primarily opportunity, not threat, in national liberation. Emphasis is placed not on avoidance of risk but on maximization of likely gain.

It remains to be seen which mentality will be more successful in solving the problem of survival in the four major crises of this era.

In order to see the light of opportunity at the end of the tunnel of danger, something other than mere rationalism is necessary. One must believe that the impossible becomes possible through an act of spiritual will. Western thinkers who are highly influenced by Western rationalism find it very difficult to break away from what they have come to regard as the only way to see things. This mental rigidity could in time prove fatal for Western survival.

Rationalism, for instance, has great difficulty in comprehending such a seeming impossibility as "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts", which is the basic principle of national liberation philosophy. When the breakthrough in thought is finally made, however, science can take vast steps forward. Ludwig von Bertalanffy², upon making the jump succeeded in reorienting the young physical science of biology from its stilted mechanistic approach to a creative one based on interactive and organic systems. Modern biology with its near miraculous wonder drugs and cloning possibilities would have been impossible otherwise.

Eleven years ago, the distinguished French economist, Jacques Rueff, made an attempt to extend the same principles to the social sciences at a time when they were visibly sinking into a morass of mathematical irrelevancy³. Rueff's flowery style may not have appealed to everyone. But, he did bring out the importance of two key elements: power and order.

John Ingalls⁴ took these concepts a step further by casting them in terms of human power potential and energy flow mechanics. Many of Ingalls' comments on human society e.g. "... the translation of myth into reality is a process that unleashes vast creative (or destructive) powers", echo similar statements made by the eminent Ukrainian writer Dmytro Donzow⁵ decades earlier. However, Ingalls, in pointing out that human societies operate according to discoverable laws of energy mechanics, supplied the hitherto missing link between the spiritual and physical aspects of human social behaviour.

2) von Bertalanffy, Ludwig, *Modern Theories of Development: An Introduction to Theoretical Biology*, N.Y. 1962.

3) Rueff, Jacques, *The Gods and the Kings*, Paris, 1968.

4) Ingalls, John, *Human Energy*, Don Mills, 1976.

5) Donzow, Dmytro, *From Mysticism to Politics*, Toronto, 1957

The link with territorialism can be found in the writings of Robert Ardrey⁶ who discovered that territory is the basis of most important social behaviour patterns.

Rank-Size Distributions of Cities

It is the regional economists who have worked most actively at combining the notions of territoriality and energy potential and flow. They observed that since there were laws in the natural sciences governing the density, pressure and temperature of mass and energy, the same ought to also apply to the social sciences.

Following the formula for molecular gravitational force, John Stewart⁷ in the late 1940's defined three concepts for the study of human activity: demographic force, demographic energy and demographic potential. Force was the product of two population masses divided by the square of the distance separating them. Energy was force multiplied by the distance between the two masses. Potential at a given point was defined as the mass at another point divided by the intervening distance. Stewart's interpretation of the concept of demographic potential was that it was a measure of the influence of people acting at a distance from the given point.

Numerous empirical experiments with a variety of social indicators including rural population densities, farmland values, miles of railroad track per square mile, density of rural wage earners in manufacturing, births, deaths, urban areas and urban taxes tended to confirm the validity of these concepts.

At about the same time, a closely similar line of reasoning was being pursued by George Zipf⁸. Zipf concentrated his efforts on finding systematic territorial regularities in demographic data. He found numerous straight-line relationships between demographic energy and other human interaction factors including pairs of cities, bus passenger trips, airline passenger trips, telephone calls and tonnage of railway express shipments. Zipf's work, however, showed that the slope of the straightline relationships referred to the exponent of the entire factor incorporating the multiplied population masses divided by the intervening distance and not to merely the exponent of the intervening distance.

6) Ardrey, Robert, *The Territorial Imperative*, 1966.

7) Stewart, John Q., *Demographic Gravitation: Evidence and Applications*, Sociometry, Feb. and May 1948; *Empirical Mathematical Rules Concerning the Distribution and Equilibrium of Population*, Geographical Review, July 1947; *Potential of Population and Its Relationship to Marketing*, in *Theory in Marketing*, ed. by R. Cox and W. Alderson, Homewood, Ill., 1950; and William Warntz, *Macrogeography and Social Science*, Geographical Review, April 1958; and *Physics of Population Distribution*, Journal of Regional Science, Summer 1958.

8) Zipf, George K., *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, Reading, Massachusetts, 1949; *The P/P²/D Hypothesis on the Intercity Movement of Persons*, American Sociological Review, Oct. 1946.

Research by other regional economists like Rutledge Vining⁹ showed that the cumulative relative frequency distributions of such economic variables as cars of rail freight classified by distance hauled closely approximated to the logarithmic normal distribution¹⁰. A logarithmic-normal distribution function plotted on double-log paper shows up as a straight line.

An interesting variant of the lognormal distribution is the so-called "rank size rule". A long series of researchers into questions of spatial distribution of cities and economic activity have tended to confirm that the size distribution of communities in a given region is generally comparable to the distributions observed in other regions. The rank-size distribution is expressed as $C_r = R^{-a} C_1$, where C_r is the size of the r^{th} largest city, R is the Rank of the city in descending order of size, " a " is a constant that is generally set equal to unity, and C_1 is the size of the largest city in the given urban network. What emerges is a harmonic relationship where the hypothetical size of any given city can be easily calculated as follows:

$$C_1 = 1/1 C_1$$

$$C_2 = 1/2 C_1$$

$$C_3 = 1/3 C_1$$

⋮

$$C_{20} = 1/20 C_1 \text{ etc.}$$

The rank size formula plots on double logarithmic graph paper as a straight line sloping downward at a 45° angle from the point on the vertical axis representing the size of the largest city. The best fit occurs where all the cities form part of an established and closely integrated urban network. A poor fit results from a random collection of cities not directly related to each other.

No attempt was made to verify the norms produced by such a formula against other countries. Also, the general formula was used, and no attempt was made to adjust it for any special factors present in the situation such as the socialist environment in which Ukraine has been for most of the period covered by the data base.

⁹ Vining, Rutledge, *The Region as an Economic Entity and Certain Variations to be Observed in the Study of Systems of Regions*, American Economic Review, May 1949; *Delimitation of Economic Areas: Statistical Conceptions in the Study of the Spatial Structure of an Economic System*, The Journal of the American Statistical Association, March 1953; *On Describing the Structure and Development of a Human Population System*, Journal of Farm Economics, Dec. 1959; *On the Problem of Recognizing and Diagnosing Faultiness in the Observed Performance of an Economic System*, The Journal of Law & Economics, Oct. 1962; *On Two Foundation Concepts of the Theory of Political Economy*, Journal of Political Economy, March/April 1969.

¹⁰ Aitchison, J., and J.A.C. Brown, *Lognormal Distribution*, Cambridge, 1957.

Structural Shifts in the Ukrainian Urban Network

The rank size rule is known to researchers in Soviet Ukraine, but it does not seem to enjoy practical application in their work¹¹. However, a Western researcher, Chauncy D. Harris¹², did apply this technique to Ukrainian urban statistics for 1959. His conclusions were as follows:

1. Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, is only about a third as large as would be expected from the network of 301 cities of over 10,000 population located on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.
2. The 5 largest cities in Ukraine show small differences in size resulting in a slope of only -0.32 on double log paper in contrast to the remaining cities which follow closely the rank size distribution with a normal slope of -1.00.
3. It would appear that Ukraine, established on ethnic principles, may not be a single urban economic system but rather that it may be composed of as many as 5 urban network regions.

In order to re-examine the Harris findings for 1959, as well as to explore for long term dynamic features, the rank size formula was applied to Ukrainian data for seven time points over the last 82 years: 1897, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1977 and 1979. For 1970, 1977 and 1979 data down to the 1,000 population level was not available.

The rank size distributions may be plotted* or tabulated (table 2) to demonstrate Harris' first observation that Kyiv was only about one-third as large as could be expected is confirmed not only for 1979 but for the entire 82 year period under consideration. On average, throughout this period, Kyiv was only about 40% as large as would seem appropriate. There is virtual no visible improvement in Kyiv's status over the course of almost a century.

Such a finding lends support to those Western writers who maintain that Soviet legal-administrative practice remains highly centralized despite the decentralized trappings of Soviet legality¹³. It also tends to support the thesis of those reserchers who claim that this state of affairs is the unnatural product of Russian pursuit of colonial ambitions and/or severe concern over national security issues¹⁴.

11) Mochnachuk, S. S., *Mathematical Methods in Population Geography*, Joudnal of Economic Geography, Kiev, No. 12, 1972.

12) Harris, Chauncy D., *Cities of the Soviet Union*, 1970.

*) For technical reasons this graph and another further on, included in the original paper, had to be omitted. References to "slopes" pertain to these graphs. — Ed.

13) Trofimenko, Martha B., *Legal Aspects of Economic Centralization* in V. N. Bandera and Z. L. Melnyk, eds., *The Soviet Economy in Regional Perspective*, Praeger, New York, 1973.

14) Holubnychy, Vsevolod, in Goldhagen, Erich ed., *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union*, Praeger, New York, 1968; U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *The Soviet Empire*, Washington, 1965; Koropecjy, I. S., *The Ukraine Within the U.S.S.R.: An Economic Balance Sheet*, Praeger, 1977; NATO, *Regional Development in the U.S.S.R.: Trends and Prospects*, Brussels, 1979.

Table 1
Slopes of Graph of Rank Size Distributions for Ukrainian Cities
1897-1979¹

Segment	Distributions						
	1897	1926	1939	1959	1970	1977	1979
First City to Fifth City	-0.716	-0.441	-0.357	-0.336	-0.379	-0.423	-0.420
Sixth City to Last City	-0.361	-0.303	-0.998	-0.873	-1.055 ²	-1.000 ²	-0.890 ²
All Cities (Actual)	-0.388	-0.354	-0.417	-0.370	-0.431 ²	-0.429 ²	-0.429 ²
All Cities (Weighted) ³	-0.453	-0.409	-0.394	-0.391	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Harris' second observation suggests that the Ukrainian urban network is not a harmonious whole but rather a composition of several weakly related subregions. This finding is also confirmed. However, and this is of great significance, this observation is valid only for the Soviet period. In 1897 the first five cities had a slope of -0.716, almost twice the slope of the entire hierarchy of cities. However, once Ukraine came under Soviet rule, the slope associated with the largest cities slipped ever lower until 1959 when it reached a record low of -0.336.

Khrushchev's launching of the de-Stalinization drive in the early 1950's swung the pendulum in the direction of federalism. The major administrative changes of February 11th, 1957 allocating greater rights to union republics gave the process a further boost. But, the swing in this direction was not destined to enjoy a long life. The 22nd CPSU Congress, reflecting the views of the Soviet bureaucracy, cut short this dangerous experiment in October 1961. The 1965 economic reforms further reinforced the swing of the pendulum in favour of recentralization.

It is noteworthy that despite the hostile administrative changes noted above, the slope of Ukraine's major cities continued to tilt upward until the late 1970's. Perhaps there is some basis after all for Moscow's charges of bourgeois nationalism hurled periodically against the Ukrainian Communist Party. But, in order not to lose proper perspective, it should be noted that the slope of the largest cities in 1979 was no better than it was in 1926, over a half-century earlier.

Harris' third observation that the distribution of Ukrainian cities other than the largest 5 has a roughly normal slope of -1.00 warrants a qualification. It appears to apply only to the period 1939-79. The sharp break in patterns between 1926 and 1939 is probably related to the Great Famine of 1932-33. This famine was deliberately planned and carried out by Soviet authorities as a political weapon for breaking the back of Ukrainian national resistance that was centered in

1) All data from various *Narkhoz* yearbooks.

2) Calculated on the basis of an extrapolated ranking to the 10,000 population level city.

3) Calculations on the basis of each city assumed to be the appropriate base for estimating the appropriate size of the primate city.

the rural areas of the country. It resulted in the disappearance of some 9-10 million people from Ukraine, of which about 7 million are believed to have literally starved to death¹⁵. Collectivization finished the task of installing Soviet rule over the territory of Ukraine. The relative regional isolation of small town Ukraine was penetrated and shattered. In the process, the huge energy reserve of rural Ukraine was irreparably damaged. This result shows up in the small city segment of the rank size distribution dropping in relative importance as the wave of dislocated humanity drifted into the larger Ukrainian cities, moved eastwards towards the desolate wastes of Siberia, or simply died off on mass.

There is one more critically important empirical finding which does not show up in Table 1. For this purpose, it is necessary to construct a statistical index which can be labelled the "urban energy line" (UEL). The UEL is calculated by working the rank size formula in reverse. Taking in turn each city in the rank size hierarchy as the base, a series is generated showing the hypothetical size of the largest city that would result if the given city were to lie on a perfectly fitted slope line. The UEL for each of the six time points, 1897, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970 and 1977 can be plotted in the form of a second graph. One interpretation that could be assigned to the UEL is that for each given year it represents a visible indicator of the maximum demographic energy potential possessed by each segment of the rank size distribution.

There are two points to note in UEL (1897). First, it rises upwards to the right implying that the energy potential of the smaller cities in the hierarchy is considerably higher than that of the larger cities. This is what one would expect to find in a strongly rural and long settled territory undergoing industrialization and urbanization.

The second point to note is that the large city portion of UEL (1897) is relatively smooth. By contrast, the same segment of UEL (1926) appears to be developing a sort of bulge almost as if the steady pressure flowing from right to left was being artificially constrained. The net result is that the prime city ends up well below what one would imagine to be its natural level.

By 1939, the UEL is no longer upward sloping to the right. The demographic catastrophe of 1932-33 eliminated the energy surplus on the small town side of this line. However, the degree of jaggedness of the large town portion of the line is seen to be worsening. In contrast to UEL (1926) when only the first five cities are affected, the UEL (1939) shows a jagged effect extending over the top 30 cities. In subsequent UEL's the amplitude of this effect increases and it becomes progressively more extensive. By the 1970's there is little doubt that what one is witnessing is a serious and worsening disorganization of the Ukrainian urban network. Various segments of

15) *Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R.*, The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 7-8, clandestinely published in the U.S.S.R., Spring 1974.

the UEL are beginning to look as if they have been drawn together at random. A harmoniously organized network of cities would have shown up as a perfectly level UEL.

In short, the most striking conclusion emerging out of this statistical data is that the Ukrainian urban network's separate identity is rapidly disintegrating. It has already reached a stage where it is dubious if one can still keep referring to Ukraine as a distinct and integrated "whole". Soviet rule, particularly in the 40 years since 1939, has already succeeded in largely dismantling one of the basic physical features of the Ukrainian nation. This does not necessarily imply that Ukraine could not function as a distinct sovereign entity. But, with a disharmoniously structured urban network, such a state would encounter strong centrifugal forces that would continue to weaken its ability to act as a sovereign entity for many decades into the future.

Implications for the 1980's

The dismantlement of the Ukrainian urban network should not come as a surprise given similar systematic treatment by the Soviet authorities accorded to various other physical aspects of the Ukrainian nation. What is of interest here is what impact this may have upon the character of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in the next decade. How does a revolutionary movement react when various physical aspects of its social base disappear? Does it quietly fade away or does it take on more active and desperate features? A full answer to this question is beyond the scope of this paper. However, I would like to draw attention to some points which may contain at least the seeds of an answer.

The literature dealing with the Ukrainian national liberation movement has always reflected two fundamental tendencies. There are those who see the movement as basically a spiritual phenomenon and there are those who concentrate mainly on its physical manifestations. The "spiritual" and the "physical" orientations appear to follow an alternating cycle. Thus, the Taras Brotherhood, founded in 1891, was spiritually oriented. In contrast, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party of Mykola Michnowsky¹⁶, founded in 1900, and the nationalist forces active at the time of World War I were much more down to earth. These were followed by Dmytro Donzow¹⁷, a major influence on nationalist thought in the 1920's, who was clearly of the "spiritual" school.

The 1930's marked the appearance of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) on the national stage¹⁸. While at the start,

16) Mirchuk, Peter, *Mykola Michnowsky: Apostol of Ukrainian Statehood*, TUSM, Philadelphia, 1960.

17) Sosnowsky, Mychaylo, *Dmytro Donzow: A Political Portrait*, Toronto, 1974.

18) *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, 1929-1955: Collection of Documents*, External units of OUN, 1977; Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaluk, *UPA Warfare in Ukraine*, N.Y. 1972.

considerable homage may still have been paid to the spiritual aspects of the movement, by the early 1950's, this group had reached the pinnacle point of the "physical" orientation¹⁹.

With the phasing out after 1953 of the OUN's armed struggle in Ukraine, the full force of Soviet pressure fell upon all the physical features of the Ukrainian nation. Research into such aspects of the Ukrainian economy as the balance of payments and financial transfers²⁰ has recorded a trail of devastation. A similar situation is reflected in the growing distortions observed in the Ukrainian urban network, particularly after 1959.

Along with the onset of grim reality in the physical aspect of the nation, there occurred the expectable switch to a more spiritual stance in the nationalist movement²¹. With the coming to power of Brezhnev and the acceleration of Russification, this spiritual trend gained momentum. Ivan Hel's February 23rd, 1967 letter to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR stresses questions of legality and violation of human rights. Oles Berdnyk, of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, in his *The Golden Gate*, published in 1973, portrays the national liberation struggle in sharply mystical terms. Mykola Rudenko, head of the Helsinki Monitoring Group, in his poem "The Cross" of 1977 has framed the question of national liberation in tremendously powerful apocalyptic-biblical terms.

However, another swing of the pendulum back towards the physical pole may have started.

Accelerated immigration of Russians into Ukrainian cities at a time when the Ukrainian rural/urban shift has not yet fully worked itself out, has created an unstable sociological situation in the Ukrainian urban network²². There are growing indications that the basis of Ukrainian political dissent is reorientating itself to issues of social mobility and economic equity. Contrary to conventional wisdom in the West, the Ukrainian dissident movement does not consist merely of a matter of a handful of unhappy intellectuals worried about Ukrainian literature, music and embroidered carpets. It is a social time bomb with very deep physical as well as spiritual roots.

These roots have even taken hold among certain party cadres. Alarmed by the relentless pressure on all physical aspects of Ukraine, some elements of the Ukrainian Communist Party concluded that the situation represented a definite threat to their own special privileged

19) Poltava, Petro, *Collection of Clandestine Writings*, Munich, 1959.

Diakiw-Hornovy, Osy, *The Idea and Deeds*, Toronto, 1968.

20) Koropec'kyj, op. cit.

21) Birch, J., *The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in the U.S.S.R. Since 1956*, London, 1971.

22) Isajiw, Wsevolod, *Urban Migration and Social Change in Contemporary Soviet Ukraine*, unpublished paper, Saskatoon, May 25th, 1979.

status. Given the secrecy which surrounds intraparty matters, such a thesis is difficult to prove conclusively. But, it would appear that one such "nationalist communist" faction began to form around Petro Shelest, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In the wake of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, at which Leonid Brezhnev launched an all out Russification drive, the KGB swung into action in such republics as Ukraine, only to encounter unexpected resistance from within the party apparatus itself. In mid-October 1922 Petro Shelest was summoned to attend a Politburo meeting in Moscow where he was given the special "goodbye" seat reserved for such occasions, stripped of his position, and effectively arrested.

His successor, V. Shcherbitsky, immediately carried out a major purge of the party apparatus in Ukraine. It appears to have done little good except to buy a few more years of hime. In May 1978, there was a renewed call for intensification of Russification efforts. This time the call went out from Tashkent, which indicates how seriously the U.S.S.R. regards the threat of Moslem dissent. By April 1979, Valentin Malanchuk, the man who was responsible for clearing out the Ukrainian party apparatus, was fired. This would appear to indicate that the spiritual infection of the party cadres had not yet been stopped to Moscow's entire satisfaction. This infection must be deep indeed given the rise of various Russian voices to do away with the Party altogether and to revert to the old principles of Russian nationalism²³. For such views to be surfacing at this time, the continued reliability of the Party as an instrument of the Russian nation must truly be coming under some serious questioning.

At the same time as the pendulum is swinging towards a greater "physical" orientation in the national liberation movement in Ukraine, there are some indicators of the same happening among Western based elements of this movement²⁴. The older elements of this movement may still repeat the spiritual phrases of the 1950's or the 1960's. But, the younger elements are already talking a different language²⁵.

The appearance in the U.S. last summer of Valentyn Moroz, a noted dissident from Ukraine, and the tone and style of his speeches since his arrival have all but confirmed that a new "physical" orientation is taking hold of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In the past, such orientations have coincided with periods of social unrest and even revolutionary actions. There is no assurance that this pattern will

23) Yanov, Alexander, *The Russian New Right: Right-Wing Ideologies in the Contemporary U.S.S.R.*, Berkeley, 1978; Solzhenitsyn, Alexandr, *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, New York, 1974.

24) Dmytro Donzow, *For What Kind of Revolution*, Toronto, 1957; Mirchuk, Petro, *For the Maintenance of Purity in the Position of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement*, Ldn., 1955; Stetzko, Yaroslav, 30th of June 1941, Toronto, 1967; Sosnowsky, Mykhaylo, *Ukraine in International Relations, 1945-65*, Toronto, 1966; Kaminsky, Anatol, *For a Contemporary Concept of Ukrainian Revolution*, New York, 1970.

25) Potapenko, Boris, *Our Aid in the Liberation Struggle*, Avantgard, Brussels, Nos. 145-146, 1979; Zwarych, Roman, *For What Kind of a Struggle?*, Avantgard, Brussels, No. 144, 1979.

necessarily repeat itself. If for some reason it does not, according to current trends, Ukraine's territorial urban network by the end of the 1980's will probably have been dismantled to the point where it might be almost impossible for the Ukrainian nationalist movement to achieve its goal before the year 2000. To the degree that the leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, both in the East and in the West, see this as Ukraine's last chance for survival as an organized modern nation, the 1980's could present the most serious challenge to the continued existence of the Soviet state since its inception in the wake of World War I.

Key Dates in Ukrainian History

7th Century B.C.	Scythian state established on Ukrainian territory.
1st Century A.D.	Migration of the Slavic peoples; beginning of emergence of the Ukrainian nation.
6th Century	City of Kyiv, capital of Ukraine, is founded.
9th Century	The Rus'-Ukraine State is established.
988	St. Vladimir the Great adopts Christianity from Constantinople as the state religion.
1019-1054	Height of power of Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine Empire.
1187	Name "Ukraine" first used in historical chronicles.
1240	Kyiv sacked by Mongol armies; end of Kyiv Rus' state.
1199-1340	The Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Volynia unite to form Galician-Volynian state.
1340	Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth formed.
1500	Ukrainian Cossack organization develops, mainly in response to Tartar attacks.
1550-1775	Ukrainian Cossack Republic.
1569	Lithuania joins Poland in a Commonwealth and most of Ukraine comes under Polish control.
1648	Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Cossack armies defeat Polish forces and an independent Ukrainian state is established.
1654	Military alliance of Ukraine and Muscovy, which eventually leads to Ukrainian loss of independence.
1659	Ukrainian forces defeat a Russian invading army at the battle of Konotop.
1667	Treaty between Poland and Russia partitions Ukraine along Dniepro River. Western Ukraine again comes under Polish rule and Eastern Ukraine comes for the first time under increasing Russian hegemony.
1709	Battle of Poltava ends attempt at independence for Ukraine by Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his ally King Charles XII of Sweden, who are defeated by Russia's Tsar Peter I.
1772, 1793, 1796	Partitions of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Poland disappears as a state.
1772-1775	Austria annexes the Western Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna.
1775	Zaporozhian Sich, fortress and capital of Ukrainian Cossacks, is destroyed by Catherine I of Russia.
1781	Abolition of last vestiges of Ukrainian statehood by Catherine II of Russia; Eastern Ukraine absorbed as provinces into Russian Empire.
1814-1861	Life span of Taras Shevchenko, greatest Ukrainian poet.
1846-1905	Establishment of secret Ukrainian political and revolutionary societies.
1863, 1876	Publication and importation of all books in Ukrainian are banned by the Russian government.
1865	Immigration of Ukrainians to western world begins.

1917-1921	Ukrainian War of Liberation against Russia.
22/1/1918	Proclamation of Ukraine's independence and the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) — in Kiev.
1/11/1918	Establishment of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR).
22/1/1919	Merger of the UNR and WUNR into one Ukrainian National State. Symon Petliura becomes the Head of State and the C-in-C of its armed forces.
1920	The Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) is founded to continue a revolutionary struggle for Ukrainian statehood.
1921-1922	Ukrainian armed forces defeated, and Ukraine is absorbed into the USSR under the name of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic while Western Ukraine comes under Polish control
1926	Symon Petliura is assassinated in Paris, France, by a Soviet Russian agent.
1929	Underground political movement — The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — founded to wage a revolutionary struggle for Ukrainian statehood.
1938	Col. Evhen Konovalets, Head of OUN, assassinated in Rotterdam, Holland, by a Soviet Russian agent.
14/3/1939	Carpatho-Ukrainian State established with Augustine Voloshyn as President.
Sept. 1939	Western Ukraine invaded by Soviet Russia and incorporated into USSR.
30/6/1941	OUN, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaims in Lviv the reestablishment of the Ukrainian State with Yaroslav Stetzko as Prime Minister of the Provisional Government.
1941-1953	Ukrainian War of Liberation against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.
1942	Creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — military arm of OUN.
1941-1944	OUN-UPA war against Nazi Germany.
1943	Creation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).
1944-1953	OUN-UPA war against Soviet Russia.
1941-1951	Period of the UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND STATE which functioned with the OUN as its political base, the UPA as its armed force, and the UHVR as its Government.
1945	The Ukrainian SSR becomes a member of the United Nations, but with no effective powers to represent the interests of the Ukrainian people.
1950	The C-in-C of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Acting Head of the OUN in Ukraine, Gen. Roman Shukhevych, is killed in action against Soviet Russian troops near Lviv, Western Ukraine.
1950's	Mass uprisings in Soviet concentration camps (GULAG) lead by members of OUN and soldiers of UPA.
1959	The Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, is assassinated in Munich, West Germany, by a Soviet Russian agent.
1960's—1970's	The "Generation of the Sixties" brings about the post-World-War-II national and cultural revival, and intensifies the struggle for national and human rights throughout Ukraine, to which Moscow has responded with mass arrests and widespread repression. This, in turn, has further strengthened the process of national Resistance and liberation.

In area — 365,000 square miles of ethnic territory — Ukraine is the LARGEST country in Europe. In population — some 55 million Ukrainians in the world — it is the FOURTH largest nation in Europe. More than 3 million Ukrainians live outside the USSR.

*

I would like to express my thanks to Erica Senkiw, Dave McNaught, Laura Batt, Anatoli Bedriy, Roman Olynky and Val Bandera who have contributed in various ways towards improvements in this paper. Any remaining weaknesses remain the author's responsibility.

Roman SENKIW

Askold KRUSHELNYCKY

AFGHAN NOTES

In August 1980 the author was smuggled into Russian-occupied Afghanistan to witness for himself how the Afghan people are facing Moscow's attempts to crush their freedom.

The author accompanied "Mujahadin" Islamic guerillas on a raid against occupation forces in Jelalabad, one of Afghanistan's major towns.

RAID

The Mujahadin commander squeezed the trigger and the anti-tank rocket crashed into the Russian armoured car 10 yards away. It exploded with a deafening bang and the air of occupied Jelalabad City in Afghanistan was filled with the shrieks of wounded and dying Russians.

The Afghan commander grinned devilishly as he surveyed the carnage — it had been a good night's work.

The mission was typical of the "pin-prick" attacks that have become a nightly event in occupied Afghanistan and at least in the Sukhrut area around Jelalabad keep the Russian invader bottled up in the city.

Although militarily the targets are peanuts — tanks, armoured personnel carriers, small outposts — the psychological damage inflicted on the Russians must be immense.

I had been invited to take part in the attack by Engineer Mahmoud, the 21-year-old guerilla leader in the area, who commands up to 1,000 Mujahadin. A Moslem fundamentalist, his title derives from the fact he was a second-year engineering student at Kabul University when the Communists came to power.

The mission began at 5 p.m. when we left our base, a deserted village a few miles from Jelalabad. Eight of us trekked off after a day spent cleaning and checking the Lee Enfield rifles and captured Russian Kalashnikov machine guns which form the mainstay of the guerillas' arsenal everywhere. Engineer Mahmoud carried one of the group's two captured Soviet anti-tank rocket launchers. The boy following him carried a back-pack containing three rockets.

We had to take a circuitous route to the City because the Russians have recently blown up three bridges across a river which used to form a direct path to the city for the guerillas.

We walked across farmers' fields trying to keep in the cover of trees and bushes. Overhead Russian gunship helicopters chopped their way back to the City through the rapidly darkening sky.

Just before sunset we stopped at a small, bombed-out, almost deserted town where the guerillas prayed.

We pressed on and at Sunset we ate a meal at a farmer's house. It was the Moslem holy month of Ramazan so eating was forbidden during the daylight hours. The guerillas rely on the population of the countryside for all their needs — food, medicine, clothes — and the people give unstintingly.

During the meal a group of about 15 other guerillas joined us. We set off again until we reached a narrow, iron bridge over a canal. This was the peak point of our mission. If the Russians managed to cut us off here on our way back we would be in difficulties.

Engineer Mahmoud detached 10 guerillas, one of whom had a land mine, to guard the bridge. Their job was to blow up the bridge should the Russians show up. That way it would be useless for us also but at least we would not walk into a trap.

On the outskirts of the city we rested in a field and were brought refreshments by a sympathiser.

The houses were more densely grouped together now — the city's suburbs. We entered the wall-enclosed garden of one house and the guerillas prayed. Afterwards an elderly, white-bearded man gave us food and tea. We rested for several hours. I lay on one of the string beds, staring at the stars and rapidly becoming more apprehensive.

About 11 p.m. we set off to complete the short distance left. We came to a walled garden. Engineer Mahmoud placed eight guerillas at the entrance to the garden, the other five of us entered.

We walked to the other side and squatted down by the partially bomb-shattered wall. It bordered onto a main road and Russian lorries rumbled past on the other side.

Engineer Mahmoud did not want to waste one of his precious rockets on a lorry and decided to wait for a tank or armoured personnel carrier. We waited for what seemed to be an eternity but was in fact 30 minutes. From the other side of the road I could hear snatches of conversation between two Russian soldiers "It's hot... are you thirsty... I'm tired".

I was afraid we would be spotted any moment and had to fight the urge to run away. I sweated half a gallon of fear in that 30 minutes.

Then we heard the squeaking sound of a tracked vehicle approaching. Engineer Mahmoud stood up, with me beside him, and poked the rocket launcher through the shattered wall. At point-blank range he pulled the trigger. The explosion threw me back and I was deafened for a few seconds. Then I heard the screams of the Russian dying and others shouting in panic — the Russian APCs carry up to 16 soldiers.

We moved back through the garden, figures appeared at the wall and fired on us. The Mujahadin fired back and the figures did not follow us. We met up with the guerillas on the other side of the garden and dashed through a little side street. Then out into an open

field. Suddenly flares light up the sky. "That's it then", I thought. The Russians opened up with machine guns on us and the Mujahadin without stopping running fired back in the general direction of the shots. One man was winged in the leg but reached cover safely.

We made our way towards the safe house where we rested until 3 a.m. and ate again. We backtracked safely though the night was filled with gunfire — other raiding guerillas. The Russians did not try searching for us.

Dawn found us at a river near base. The guerillas stacked up their arms, washed and started to pray. I took the opportunity to squat down and relieve myself. Suddenly four helicopters flew over. Everyone froze and remained motionless until the helicopters flew over the horizon. Then the guerillas continued praying.

EXTRACTS FROM ASKOLD KRUSHELNYCKY'S DIARY

August 1

We have camped town tonight a mile or so inside Afghanistan. The day has been long and gruelling. I and my three companions, Malang, Jafar and Naim, started off at 3 a.m. to reach the Pakistani border town of Parachenar, about 200 miles south-west of Peshawar.

The Pakistani authorities have declared the area out of bounds to foreigners but I was dressed in Afghan clothes — turban, waistcoat and what looked like an outsize pair of green pyjamas — so there was no trouble when the bus we were travelling on was stopped at army checkpoints along the road.

The border between Afghanistan and Pakistan is formed by the mountain peaks. We started ascending the Pakistani side at 11 a.m. and the mists were already beginning to shroud the peak when we reached it at 6 p.m.

Throughout the day we met refugees with their belongings strapped to their backs moving towards Pakistan. They are leaving to live in the miserable refugee camps either because their homes have been destroyed or just because others are leaving.

The journey up has been about 10 miles. We clamber down the Afghanistan side of the mountain for about an hour until we reach an area where travellers have built stone windbreaks and about 15 camp fires are dotted over the mountain side.

I spoke to Kagol, a 28-year-old science teacher from Jelalabad City. He had run into trouble for his anti-communist views and now wanted to study in Pakistan.

He said there was considerable guerilla activity around Jelalabad and the Russians controlled only the city but did not even venture out a mile beyond.

August 2

We set off at 5 a.m. after a freezing cold night when I hardly slept. At 8 a.m. we have some of the Afghan tea which is reminiscent of Lapsong Souchong at a tiny hamlet on the mountain side.

We buy a piece of freshly-killed goat and have that for lunch at another hamlet.

The Russians do not venture this far and life has not been affected except that the value of their money has fallen from a recent exchange rate of 4 Afghanis to a Pakistani Rupee to 10 Afghanis.

Apparently the villagers go on expedition deeper into Afghanistan to take pot-shots at the Russians.

As we pressed on we passed more and more armed men on their way to join various guerilla groups, their Russian Kalashnikov machine guns and ancient British Lee Enfields slung across their backs.

At the village of Alapril I come across two unexploded Russian bombs embedded in the neat, un-ripened fields of corn. The village was bombed two months ago but the only casualties were cattle and goats.

Three more unexploded bombs at Mujahadin stronghold of Toorabora — a reflection on Soviet manufacturing industry?

All the men of Toorabora were armed. They raid Jelalabad City and claim with glee to kill a couple of "Shouravi" or "Dushman" (their words for Russians and communists) each time.

One of the guerillas gave an impressive demonstration with his Lee Enfield. He pointed out a man-sized rock across a gully about 500 yards away. I thought it was an impossibly long distance but he aimed, fired and splinters flew off.

August 3

The Russians celebrate the end of the olympics, the sounds of bombing punctuate the entire day.

We had stayed the night at the village of Agam. All the people I have met do not behave as if they are occupied. They go about their business, mainly farming corn and sweet corn, fairly normally.

They are angry the Russians are in Afghanistan and the Mujahadin do not have the arms to drive them out but psychologically they are not a defeated people.

When they hear bombs exploding in neighbouring villages they purse their lips and stare with grim anger. I have not seen despair in their eyes. They seem to draw strength from each other and the Islamic religion to which they fervently adhere. The idea of defeat does not enter their minds.

Agam is almost in the plains. The houses are made of wattle as elsewhere, and very little seem to have changed from Biblical times. There is no electricity or sewerage and water is from streams or wells.

We slept the night under the stars in the courtyard of a house. It was cooler than inside.

August 4

We trudged off on the road. These people do not hang about, yesterday we walked for 15 hours.

Each village we pass now has been scarred by a plane or helicopter attack. Most of the casualties have been women and children, the men hide in the mountains because it is their duty to survive in order to fight.

The Afghans do not have the facilities to deal with blown-off limbs or ripped-open stomachs so you are either completely unharmed by the raid or you die.

I met a teacher called Mohurmadin returning from a Pakistani refugee camp to his town of Berbeha to fight. Like so many other Afghans he kept asking why the British and Americans were not helping Afghanistan.

We carry on towards Jelalabad. We pass a group of Mujahadin, one with an anti-tank rocket launcher, returning from a raid on Jelalabad where they claim to have destroyed two tanks and killed 10 Russians.

The whole of this province, called Ningahar, seems to be completely in the control of the Mujahadin. They have their own village councils which coordinate on a regional basis to run every aspect of the inhabitants' lives. This even to the extent the Mujahadin run a regular bus service between some of the villages.

August 5

Everywhere we hear about the military prowess of a Mujahadin commander called Engineer Mahmoud so we head towards his base in the Sukhrut area.

The base is a deserted village several miles from Jelalabad and the guerillas strike at the city almost every night.

As far as I can tell liberated zones do exist. I was sceptical in Peshawar when the Mujahadin leaders said they controlled the countryside. I thought maybe at night the Russians would not venture outside the cities but surely by daytime their planes, helicopters and tanks backing up soldiers must ensure Russian control.

But that is not the case in Ningahar. The guerillas' greatest bane is the Russian helicopter gunship for which they have no reply. They seem to have developed a sixth sense for the helicopters and sense their approach long before I could hear them. The Mujahadin just freeze and the chances of them being spotted are minimal.

August 6

We reach the guerilla base. Engineer Mahmoud is a slight, 21-year-old former engineering student from Kabul University. He has lead

about 500 Mujahadin in the Sukhrut area for 16 months, ever since the communists came to power.

He is a devout Moslem and says he is striving for a fundamentalist Islamic state.

About 25 men live in the wall-enclosed, tree-shaded garden. Their weapons hang from the branches and in one corner of the garden stands a large cooking bowl. The guerillas lie around on their wood and string beds, dozing or cleaning their guns.

Tonight Engineer Mahmoud is going to destroy a tank in Jelalabad with a captured Russian anti-tank rocket launcher. He invites me to accompany him, I accept.

The mission is successfully completed in a smooth, matter-of-fact fashion.

August 7

Engineer Mahmoud has decided not to go to war tonight. We rest and discuss Mujahadin tactics. Here at least the guerillas operate with a much higher degree of sophistication than I imagined. I thought their attacks would be disorderly affairs but Engineer Mahmoud, whose military knowledge comes from two Iranian guerilla warfare manuals, plans his raids meticulously.

The fighting is classic guerilla nighttime hit and run, inflicting the maximum of damage with the minimum of risk.

Engineer Mahmoud claims the Mujahadin are now developing their own unique brand of warfare. Broadly, he relies on a network of sympathisers in Jelalabad for information and then plans the raid, usually the destruction of an armoured vehicle or small outpost.

The attacks usually involve 20 to 30 men. Engineer Mahmoud identifies the weak points in the plan and safeguards against them. He says that in the nine months he has been operating against the Russians he has suffered only about 20 dead or wounded.

Several Mujahadin field hospitals exist but in our case we have a cardboard box stuffed with bandages, cotton wool and iodine.

Presently a stalemate seems to exist between the Mujahadin and the Russians. Engineer Mahmoud is very apprehensive about how the Russians will try and break the deadlock.

The Kremlin's greatest weapon is the helicopter and they will probably use a combination of gunships and troop-carrying helicopters to first pummel the guerillas and then slog it out in hand to hand combat on the ground.

Engineer Mahmoud believes that without Western help the war will be a prolonged one and judging by the defiant attitude of every man, woman and child I met he is probably right.

He said, "Western countries must help us against the Russians because the Russians are not just against Islam they are against the whole of humanity".

August 8

We set off back to Pakistan. I want to get back as soon as possible because I feel ill and I think one of my ear drums has been punctured by the explosion from the rocket launcher.

We cross a desert called Rary and have to repeatedly hide from low flying planes.

The village of Shuzlavi, another Mujahadin stronghold. Here I meet five Afghan soldiers who recently deserted from the government army. They were conscripted in Jelalabad in May and say most soldiers from the dwindling Afghan army are trying to join the Mujahadin.

August 9

The land becomes greener and the water more plentiful as we approach the mountains that form the border. We stay the night at Toorabora.

August 10

After an exhausting climb we reach the top of the mountain. I recklessly bound down the mountain towards Parachenar and safety.

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SOLZHENITSYN DEFENDS RUSSIAN COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

I

Introduction

During the 1970's the Soviet-Russian regime let go to the West dozens of Russian so-called dissidents. Western democratic nations greeted these Russian exiles with joy and satisfaction in the belief that Moscow expelled them as the result of pressures by the West, which created for the Brezhnev regime progressively more inconveniences. However the analysis of the activities of these "dissidents" shows that these Russians are performing in the West quite a useful ideological-propagandistic work for the preservation and expansion of the Russian empire.

The objectives of the Russian exiles in the West can be summarized as follows:

- to cultivate among the Western societies friendship towards Russia;

- to try to weaken any considerations in the West to activate a dynamic policy directed against Russian expansionism;

- to eliminate any thoughts that the USSR is a Russian colonial state, in which national liberation forces of the enslaved peoples are active and that support should be given to those movements;

- to weaken any attempt by Western nations to bring about a conflict between China and the Soviet-Russian empire;

- and last, not least, to convince Western ruling elites that any changes in the USSR must be activated only by the Russians, but not by other nations.

Undoubtedly, the most prominent Russian "dissident" in Western exile is Alexander Solzhenitsyn. He published more of his writings than any other of his colleagues. He is perhaps most widely known because of the Nobel Prize he received. He is given the opportunity to dissipate his views in many major Western publications.

The most outspoken essay of A. Solzhenitsyn on international politics was probably the 38-page article published in the prestigious American quarterly *Foreign Affairs* of New York, Spring issue, 1980. Shorter versions of this exposition of Solzhenitsyn's views appeared in the West-German periodical *Die Welt* (July 12, 1980) and the American weekly *Time* (February 18, 1980). In the article in the *Foreign Affairs*, entitled *Misconceptions about Russia are a threat to America*, Solzhenitsyn deals with two main problems, first — what is Russia and what is communism, and second — to point out the policy Western nations should follow toward communism and Russia.

Solzhenitsyn on communism

Alexander Solzhenitsyn suggests a fantastic theory that communism is a movement without any basis and support in Russia. This "communism" somehow managed to come to such a power that it established a powerful state called the USSR, conquered and oppressed many peoples and is threatening to conquer the rest of the Free World. Being himself a writer of fiction, for which he received a Nobel Prize in literature, Mr. Solzhenitsyn argues that "the prevalent mistake is to assume an indissoluble link between the universal disease of communism and the country where it first seized control — Russia" (p. 797). "Russia is to the Soviet Union as a man is to the disease afflicting him... A Brezhnev who has connived at the ruin of his own people in the interests of foreign adventures has no Russian heart" (p. 798).

If "communism" is a non-national force, which is enslaving various nations, then it seems logical Russia is also enslaved. On such a doctrinaire and unrealistic premise Mr. Solzhenitsyn draws a false conclusion that the Russian people has been conquered and oppressed by those abstract "communists": "All that his (Brezhnev's — A.W.B.) ilk have done — to destroy the national way of life and to pollute nature, to desecrate national shrines and monuments, and to keep the people in hunger and poverty for the last 60 years — shows that the communist leaders are alien to the people and indifferent to its suffering" (798).

In the early days of Bolshevism Lenin devised a devious propaganda doctrine of deceit of freedom-loving people with the aim to conquer them. This propaganda was to a large extent taken over from tsarist Russian propagandists, who invented the stratagem of so-called "Potyomkin villages" — showing to foreigners staged "free", "progressive" and "prosperous" communities, although the reality looked quite opposite: there existed slavery, colonial exploitation and brutal barbarism. Alexander Solzhenitsyn tries exactly in the same spirit to fool the West today. The dominant and ruling people are presented as oppressed and enslaved by some fictional communists. ("For present-day purposes the word 'Russia' can serve only to designate an oppressed people" (799). Every average Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian and others can testify to the dominating and ruling position of millions of Russian people in the non-Russian countries of the USSR. Hundreds of documents written by Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and other political prisoners in the USSR are the best testimony to the fact that the USSR is a prison of nations in which the Russian people are masters and colonial rulers, while the non-Russian peoples are exposed to nationcide, genocide, ethnocide and linguocide.

Solzhenitsyn on Russia

Solzhenitsyn maintains that Stalin "broke the back of the Russian peasantry, and thereby of Russia herself..." (804) The master deception continues: "And what of the far-reaching process which is scheduled for completion in 10 to 15 years, a process threatening the very survival of the Russian people?.. In the first revolution (1917-20) Lenin's curved dagger slashed at the throat of Russia... In the second revolution (1929-31) Stalin's sledge-hammer strove to pound Russia to dust... The third and final revolution is irrevocably underway, with Brezhnev's bulldozer bent on scraping Russia from the face of the earth" (811).

To mislead Western strategists about the increasing power of Russia, accumulated throughout ages of imperialistic conquests, might have only one objective in mind: to lull to sleep Western defenses, to turn Western countermeasures from any attempt to liquidate the Russian empire and to give Moscow more time to prepare fresh conquests. Solzhenitsyn is presenting a false historical reality. While during 1918-1922 all nations previously enslaved by tsarist Russia fought fiercely for their national independence, he insists on the contrary: "the mighty outbreaks of spontaneous popular resistance to communism in our country between 1918 and 1922..." (800). "In 1918-22 throughout Russia, throngs of peasants with pitchforks marched in their thousands against the machine guns of the Red Army; in bolshevism they saw a force inimical to their very existence as a nation" (816). In fact only three tsarist generals mounted with Western support from exile anti-bolshevik campaigns (Denikin, Kaledin and Wrangel). However, the majority of the Russian people gave immediate support to the Russian-bolshevik forces under Vladimir Illich Lenin to wave renewed colonialist-imperialist wars against the newly reestablished national states of Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Siberia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia and Don Cossacks. They also crushed the Ukrainian Kuban Cossack state.

Solzhenitsyn speaks about Russia "as a country which has been in existence for a thousand years..." with "thousand years of Eastern Christianity in Russia" (801). However in the tenth and even in the eleventh century there did not exist yet any Russia. Thus Solzhenitsyn's argumentation reveals his typically Russian imperialistic attitude of stealing Ukraine's history and presenting it as Russian. Christianity was formerly introduced in the Ukraine-Rus' state by Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great in 988. It could not have been introduced sooner to the Russian territories than in the eleventh century, because Russia lies beyond Ukraine from Byzantium, or Bulgaria or Central Europe, from whence Christianity was entering Eastern Europe.

Solzhenitsyn speaks of the extermination of "15 million of the best

Russian peasants" by Stalin (803-804). It is pure fiction, because in 1932-33 up to ten million Ukrainians and several more million Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians and other people were exterminated by means of an artificial famine. Those were areas with a small percentage of Russian peasantry. Evidently Solzhenitsyn considers all these subjugated peoples as Russians. Only some truly Russian regions along the Volga River were affected by this terrible forced famine.

With a naivete bordering on complete historical ignorance, Mr. Solzhenitsyn advances the question: "Just what 'model' could Stalin have seen in the former, tsarist Russia as (Robert C.) Tucker has it?" (804). The absurdity of this question will be exposed later.

On two pages the Nobel Prize winner tries to present tsarist Russia as an ideal peace-loving, freedom-loving, flourishing paradise on earth, where "camps there were none", where political prisoners "were well fed and cared for at the expense of the State, where no one forced them to work", where "all criminal investigations were conducted in strict compliance with established law", when "Russia could boast of a flourishing manufacturing industry, rapid growth and a flexible, decentralized economy", where there was complete cultural freedom, the intelligentsia was not restricted in its activity", it "knew no deportations of entire peoples and no armed separatist movements", when Russia "did not annex an inch of European soil", when "'bad' Russia of old never loomed ominously over Europe" etc. etc. (804-805). All these fables remind strongly of communist-Russian fables about their "paradise" on earth. They have as much truth as the constitution of the USSR about the real situation in the USSR, where the terror of the KGB is the supreme law.

Solzhenitsyn on the Russian (imperial) state

Alexander Solzhenitsyn uses terminology which equates the area of the USSR with the area of a Russian national state as if it were the area of the ethnic Russian homeland. He argues: "the Kremlin leadership is immeasurably indifferent to and remote from the Russian people" (806), thereby equating the USSR with Russian people's territory. In such a way he is covering up the nature of the USSR as a colonialist and imperialist system over many conquered non-Russian peoples. He uses the phrase "Soviet people" to mean the soviet regime over the Russian people (808). When he mentions the 1962-Novocherkask uprising (810), he gives the impression that it happened in Russia, while in reality Novocherkask is on the territory of the Don Cossacks. He categorically rejects the historical reality that "the Russians are the 'ruling nationality' of the USSR. They are no such thing and never have been at any time since 1917... In the USSR there simply was no 'ruling nationality': the communist internationalists never had need of one" (812). This argumentation

of Solzhenitsyn has evidently three objectives in mind: the transfer from the Russians all the guilt for war crimes, genocide and imperialist expansion to some fictional "communist internationalists", to gain sympathy in the West for the Russian people as allegedly enslaved and oppressed, and to convince Western nations that the USSR is actually Russia but with a bad regime.

What's more, Solzhenitsyn cleverly attempts to transfer some guilt of "communism" to the Ukrainian people who are colonially enslaved by the Russian people: "from the end of the 1930s the communist leadership came to be increasingly composed of men of Russian and Ukrainian origin..." (812-813).

Another absurdity is to maintain that "the RSFSR has borne the main brunt of economic oppression" (813). Every available statistical data on the USSR shows clearly that of all the so-called soviet republics the biggest economic progress occurred in the RSFSR, but primarily in the really Russian ethnic territories of the RSFSR.

Whoever sees the reality and speaks about it, like the hundreds of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR, who exposed Russian chauvinism and racism, are being called by Solzhenitsyn as stooges of the KGB, who are of "the greatest value and comfort to Soviet communism..." (815).

He argues that in June 1941, "Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia gave the Germans a jubilant welcome. Byelorussia, the Western Ukraine and the first occupied Russian territories followed suit" (817). It means that east of "Western Ukraine" starts "Russian territory". Are Kyiv, Odessa and Kharkiv Russian territories? If so, this is a typical Russian racist point of view.

Of course, Solzhenitsyn is silent about the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in existence since the Communist Russian occupation of Ukraine, especially during the 1920's and 1940's. It is false to maintain that people wanted only "liberation from communism" (817). The Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians and others wanted not only liberation from communism but also liberation from any dependence upon the Russian colonialists and establishment of their own sovereign national states. In order to erase the Ukrainian people from the face of the earth, Solzhenitsyn permits his translator to give a defamating footnote that "Western Ukraine" and "western Byelorussia" were "carved out of Poland in 1939" (817).

According to the ancient Russian imperialistic concept of a "one indivisible" Russia as far as all the currently conquered people are concerned, Solzhenitsyn treats the USSR as one entity and sees the future of it only as such: "For the multinational human mass confined today within the boundaries of the Soviet Union, there are only two possibilities: either a brutally imperialistic development of communism, with the subjugation of countries in many parts of the globe, or else a renunciation of communist ideology and a shift to

a path of reconciliation, recovery, love of one's country, and care for one's people" (824-825). He squarely and unequivocally put himself as a foe of the national liberation movements of the peoples within the USSR, whose primary goal is to reestablish their own national states, which however can come only as a result of liquidating the Russian empire.

He bluffs and shows a chauvinistic face when he says: "The Russian people have a 1,100-year-long history — longer than that of many of Russia's impatient teachers" (828). In fact the Russian people as a nation appeared only in the 13th and 14th centuries, and such peoples as Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian existed many hundreds of years if not a millennium sooner. Speaking in the imperialistic mood about the law of the medieval Ukrainian-Rus' state, Solzhenitsyn shamelessly writes: "The traditional medieval Russian concept of justice (*pravda*) was understood as justice in the ultimate sense" (828). (Translator's note is added: "The first Russian code of laws (eleventh century) was called *Pravda Russkaya*".)

Solzhenitsyn on Western policy toward Russia

Alexander Solzhenitsyn expresses clearly and bluntly his proposals for a Western policy toward Russia. First of all, he demands not to connect the communist regime in the USSR with the Russian people. Whoever connects these two is called by Solzhenitsyn "a racist" (800). He asks the West to give assistance to the "true" Russians on grounds that "the 'bad' Russia of old never loomed ominously over Europe..." (805). Solzhenitsyn condemns one of the noblest acts of the U.S. Government, the "notorious resolution on the 'captive nations' (PL 86-90), passed by the U.S. Congress on July 17, 1959" (805). His anger is caused by the fact that PL 86-90 recognizes the USSR as a Russian colonial empire, demanding the liberation of the enslaved nations and the reestablishment of their national states.

Solzhenitsyn asks the West to oppose the communist regime of the USSR but not the Russian empire. He urges to forget the existence of Russian messianism and racism which he calls "bizarre fabrication" (809). "As for 'historical Russian messianism', this is contrived nonsense..." (814). He propagates "Russian nationalism", of which the West should not be afraid. In unison with the official Kremlin propaganda, he argues that the Russians want only peace (814).

Solzhenitsyn, an expert propagandist, asks the West to treat "the oppressed" Russian people as its "natural ally" (815). He demands not to "abuse us in advance as chauvinists and fascists" (816). He proclaims: "no reconciliation with communist doctrine is possible. The alternatives are either its complete triumph throughout the world or else its total collapse everywhere. The only salvation for Russia, for China and for the entire world lies in a renunciation of this

doctrine" (820). Forget about the liberation of nations enslaved by Russia! Forget about combating Russian colonialism and racism! The world must have trust in Russia's messianic message in saving it from communism: "The world has now come to the point where without the rebirth of a healthy, national-minded Russia, America itself will not survive..." (821). Solzhenitsyn threatens: "It would be disastrous to fight 'the Russians' instead of communism..." (ibiden). Solzhenitsyn opposes giving any support to the nationalists of Ukraine, Turkestan, Lithuania etc. for their liberation struggle against and from Russian colonial domination. He calls "a mad policy" (822) allying the Western nations with China against Russia.

He is angry at Zionists, who raise the question of Russian chauvinism and colonialism: "Hardly more felicitous is the policy of broadcasting by recent Jewish immigrants to the United States..." because it will allegedly arouse even more anti-Semitism among the Russians. (823) He calls for an alliance between the American and Russian peoples (824). It is clear that such an alliance will be directed against the national liberation movements within the USSR and all other forces aiming at combatting Russian racism and imperialism as well as against China. In regard to the non-Russian peoples within the USSR Solzhenitsyn's position is a paraphrase of Lenin's "right to secession" or "right to claim independence", but without real struggle for their national liberation. Solzhenitsyn says: "no peripheral nation should be forcibly kept within the bounds of our country... those peoples who so wished should be free to secede..." (826).

Many of Solzhenitsyn's views reveal a typically Russian "big-brother" mentality, whereby the big brother gives favours to the younger brothers always with the attitude of being superior to them. Like Lenin, he would prefer that other peoples remain under Russian "guidance" and tutelage: "the only path down from the icy cliff of totalitarianism that I could propose was the slow and smooth descent via an authoritarian system. If an unprepared people were to jump off that cliff directly into democracy, it would be crushed to an anarchical pulp." (827). His guiding "authoritarian system" is in essence very similar to Lenin's concept of "proletarian vanguard" and "dictatorship of proletariat". Solzhenitsyn requests the West a hands-off policy from the Russian empire: "The answer can only emerge through an organic development of accumulated national experience, and it must be free of any external coercion" (828).

Alexander Solzhenitsyn clearly appears as a messianistic propagandist: "I can envision no salvation for mankind other than through the universal exercise of self-limitation by individuals and peoples alike. That is the spirit which imbues the religious and national renaissance currently underway in Russia" (832). We would suggest this "spirit" in Russia should rather work for the liquidation of Russian colonialism and racism, which anyway will disappear sooner or later from the face of the Earth!

Interestingly, the last paragraph in his essay contains a warning and a threat to the United States not to cooperate with China but with Russia: "It would be disastrous for the world if America were to look upon the Peking leadership as an ally while regarding the Russian people as no less a foe than communism" (834).

II

On origins of the Russian people

Alexander Solzhenitsyn founded his political conclusions on a falsified, doctrinaire and unscientific presentation of the Russian people. He starts from the premise that the Russian people existed already in the ninth or tenth century. The period of the Rus' state and civilization is considered without any scientific foundation as the beginnings of the Russian national history. Therefore the whole territory of the Rus' state is incorporated into the area of the Russian people. But the Rus' state was the state of the Ukrainian people. It was centred and based in Ukraine. From the various opinions of Solzhenitsyn we can deduce that the Ukrainian-Rus' period and territory is considered by him as integral, organic, natural and historical Russia. Solzhenitsyn attempts to cross out the work of many generations of historians and the whole Ukrainian history¹.

Hundreds of scholars and scientists have conclusively proved that the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples are quite distinct and different and both have their own original historical beginnings.

The Ukrainian culture and ethno-racial composition are rooted in a Neolithic Indo-Iranian agriculture around the Black Sea, which flourished since the third millennium B.C. popularly known as the Trypillia culture. The roots of the Russian people are in the Finno-Ugrian mesolithic population of the forest-cultures, first known as the Fatyanovo culture². This culture passed into the metallic Ananyino culture. While Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian people, traces a 1500-old history, Moscow was founded only eight centuries ago. Another recent historian concluded: "On the basis of the present-day state of archaeology we are in a position to affirm that the Ukrainian people is a native on its land beginning from the Neolithic epoch. We can consider a large group of Neolithic tribes of the 4th-3rd millennia B.C. as ancestors of the Ukrainians"³.

One example of the differences between the Ukrainian culture and

1) Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*. New York, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1957, 456 pages. We read there: "The oldest monuments of Ukrainian historiography are chronicles... The writing of the chronicles in Ukraine began in Kyiv in the first decades of the eleventh century". p. 21.

2) N. L. Chirovsky, *A History of the Russian Empire*, v. 1, New York, Philosophical Library, 1973.

3) N. Polonska-Vasylenko (1884-1973), *A History of Ukraine*, v. 1, Munich, Ukrainischer Verlag, 1972, p. 66.

the Russian is the Easter Egg, origins of which are traced in Ukraine to the Trypilla culture (two millenia before Christ), while it is unknown in Russia. Also philologists found in the Russian language a Finno-Ugrian basis, which in turn can not be traced in the Ukrainian language, because Finno-Ugrian population never lived on Ukrainian territory⁴.

The medieval state called Rus' with the capital at Kyiv arose exclusively on the Ukrainian ethnic territory around the Dnipro River bordering on the Desna and Prypyat rivers in the north, Carpathian Mountains in the west, the Donets River in the east and the Caucasian Mountains in the south-east. It evolved slowly on the foundations of the previous Ukrainian state in the 5th-6th centuries called the Anty⁵. In the mid-ninth century the Ukrainian-Rus' state became internationally known, when its military forces led by princes Askold and Dyr attacked Byzantium, 860. The northward expansions of the Rus' state began only a century later but it went into the Novgorod and Pskov regions first. Rus' conquest of central and eastern Russia came only in the eleventh century. When the Rus'-Ukrainians came to Novgorod on the Volkhov River, they found there a principality, established by Slavic colonizers called Slovenians, who composed a ruling minority among the native Finno-Ugrians (Chud, Ves, Merya, Yam and Byarma). Although Novgorod was brought under Kyiv's rule, its population and the ruling elite was constantly striving to throw off Ukrainian domination.

The Russian archeologist A. Spitsyn found out that the Finno-Ugrian tribes were slavonized by the tribes of Kryvykh and by Slavs from Novgorod, both of which did not compose the Rus'Ukrainian people and state⁶. V. Shcherbakivskiy maintains that the slavonization of Finno-Ugrians by non-Ukrainian tribes caused the widening of differences and enmities between Ukraine and "Russia" because the "northern" Slavs introduced to the natives agricultural methods and tools from Northern Europe, while the Ukrainians continued to use methods and tools, which were introduced in the past from the Near Eastern agriculturists. These differences remain still in the agricultural terminology of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples.

According to one Russian historian, native non-slavonized Russian Finno-Ugrians were still to be found in the Russian heartland at the end of the 18th century. Tsarina Catherina II issued an order prohibiting to mention publicly the fact that the majority of the Russian people originated from the Finno-Ugrian population. When the Russian government adopted in the 19th century a Slavophile and later a pan-Slavistic messianic policy toward Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Bulgarians, Serbs and Czechs, it was hurriedly covering up every trace of Finno-Ugrian origins of the Russian people.

4) V. Shcherbakivskiy, *Formation of the Ukrainian Nation*, 2. ed. New York, 1958.

5) N. Polonska-Vasylenko, *op. cit.*

6) A. Spitsyn, *Vladimirskiy kurhany*.

In the mid-twelfth century the principalities of Rostov-Suzdal and Vladimir came to prominence. Their princes, Yuriy Dolgorukiy (1120-1157) and Andriy Bogolubskiy (1157-1174) conducted active and dynamic anti-Rus', anti-Ukrainian policies. In 1169 Bogolubskiy attacked, conquered and terribly pillaged Kyiv. The destruction was much more severe than the one perpetrated in 1240 by the Mongols. Rostov developed into an important power center, which later became one of the pillars of Russian statehood. It grew in the midst of the ancient native Fatyanovo culture. A new, later known as Russian, nationality was arising in this north-eastern corner of Europe out of the struggle of native although slavonized people against the Ukrainian nation and culture. The principalities which gave the foundation for the Russian national state were: Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir, Tver, Yaroslavl, Murom and Riazan. Before his death Dolgorukiy constructed around a small village in 1156 a fort, called Kremlin, the village was called Moscow. During that time (second half of the twelfth century) it came to the actual breakdown and separation between relations of Rus'-Ukraine and the "Russian" principalities. This early founding period of the Russian people and state was consolidated before the coming of the Mongols under Prince Vsevolod III the Big Nest (1176-1212). During the period of rule of the three mentioned princes (roughly 90 years) a different from the Rus'/Kyiv political system evolved there: despotic, tyrannical, militaristic, absolutist and totalitarian. The Rus'/Ukrainian system was federalistic, with a large measure of true democracy ("viche"), tolerant and pluralistic. Russian historian V. Klyuchevskiy gave to the Rostov-Suzdal-Vladimir state and people the following description: "It was a country, stretching beyond the old, original Rus' and it was in the 11th century rather an alien than a Rus' country... The inhabitants here were the Murom, the Merya and the Ves"⁷. Thus at best one might speak of about 800 years of Russia's existence as a separate statehood. From its beginnings, this early Russian state lost almost all similarities and cultural affinities with the Ukrainian-Rus' state, which lasted approximately half a millenium (from mid-ninth century to mid-fourteenth).

Almost from the beginning of its existence on Russian territory, the Orthodox Church became completely subordinated to and controlled by the monarchic regime. As a whole it did not have ever any chance to develop as a real religious institution, caring primarily for the salvation of souls. It was always a tool of the state, and in particular, the tool of Russian messianistic imperialism.

Erroneous and unfounded is Alexander Solzhenitsyn's claim "to the thousand years of Eastern Christianity in Russia" (801). All scholars of the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe agree that Christ's Faith and Church were spreading on Ukrainian territory

7) V. Klyuchevskiy, *Kurs russkoy istoriyi*, v. 2, Petersburg, 1904, p. 362.

right from the first century A.D. The Ukrainian-Rus' prince Askold was baptised in the ninth century. So was grand Princess Olha in the tenth century. Officially Christianity became the religion of the Ukrainian people in 988. However to the principalities of Suzdal, Rostov and Vladimir it was introduced only in the eleventh century. Nevertheless it was limited there to a small minority in the towns where foreigners from Rus'-Ukraine were staying. It spread in the countryside very slowly. Thus the real push by the princes to baptise the natives came only in the twelfth century when these principalities separated themselves from Rus'-Ukraine. Before that time Christianity was considered an alien religion; afterwards it became to be considered the religion of native rulers which had to be formally accepted in order not to be punished. (The rule "*cuius regio, eius religio*" was supreme in Russia.) As late as the eighteenth century there were native Russians, who did not accept even formally the Orthodox Church.

In the thirteenth century Eastern Europe was invaded by the Mongols-Tatars. While Ukraine, particularly west of Dnipro River managed to retain national sovereignty under king Danylo (120)-1264) and Grand Prince Lev I (1264-1301), Russian principalities submitted themselves completely under the Tatar rule.

As a typical example can serve Grand Duke Alexander Nevskiy (died 1263), contemporary of the Ukrainian king Danylo. He closely cooperated with and submitted to the Tatar overlordship and fiercely combatted his European neighbours (Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Swedes and Germans). King Danylo, on the contrary, sought European assistance in the struggle of Ukraine against the Tatars. As the result, cultural estrangement between Russia and Ukraine was growing even more than in the preceding period. Ukrainian rulers were struggling to regain more freedom for the Ukrainian people, while Russian princes and grand dukes were becoming more absolutistic, tyrannical and despotic, claiming to be subordinates of the Great Khans.

Russian historians V. Klyuchevskiy and I. V. Sergeyevich recognized these differences very clearly. Mongol overlordship in Russia of about 250 years left lasting influences upon the Russian people and estranged it for ever from the major cultural and civilizing trends of Europe. What's more, Russia became Europe's major cultural antagonist, which resulted in uncompromising hostility of Russia toward Western Christianity, pluralistic political systems and inherent recognition of the rights of man. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, Russia was ready to claim the succession to spiritual leadership in the whole Christendom according to the doctrine of the "Third Rome".

Rise of Russian (Muscovite) imperialism

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's claim that a certain Russian autocrat did not conquer any European territory is intended to create the impression of Russia's peaceful and friendly attitude toward the Western nations. However in reality Russia's whole history is one continuous chain of hostilities and conquests of European nations, especially under the banner of the messianistic "Third Rome" idea. The policy started under Grand Duke Vasiliy II of Moscow (1425-1462), who prevented the restoration of Church unity between Catholics and Orthodox branches at the Council of Florence (1439). In 1456 Vasiliy invaded and subordinated to Muscovy the Grand Duchy of Novgorod arguing that Novgorod kept close and friendly relations with Lithuania and other European countries.

In 1470-78, his successor Ivan III destroyed and pillaged Novgorod, rooting out all democratic and European influences still lingering there. In 1492 Ivan III waged war against Lithuania, as the result of which he got by conquest some Byelorussian territory. In 1500 Russian troops again invaded Lithuania and captured the ancient Ukrainian city and principality of Chernyhiv, 1503. Ivan the Terrible organized the first Russian colonial police, the terroristic "Oprichniki", a 6000-man force, the precursors of the present-day KGB.

The next Russian despot, Vasiliy III, started his rule by destroying all democratic and pro-Western influences in the principality of Pskov, 1510.

As Prof. N. Chirovsky maintains, the policies of Ivan III and Vasiliy III were "early forerunners of the Soviet-Russian mass genocide of the 20th century, as the political devices of lasting domination of the conquered lands. It has served as historical proof of the undeniable fact, that genocide was not a Communist invention but a traditional Muscovite-Russian imperialist technique so frequently applied in the past toward conquered countries and peoples"⁸. The list of Russian conquests takes many pages. Indeed, Russia's history is a history of imperialism, colonialism and warfare, connected with messianism of various kinds and even racism. Within three centuries Russia conquered half of Europe.

The conquest of Ukraine by Russia proceeded in stages. During the existence of the Ukrainian Cossack state in the seventeenth century, there came the first invasion in 1658 under tsar Aleksiy Mikhaylovich, but it was repelled by the Ukrainians under hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, who defeated Russian armies at Konotop. Nevertheless, Russians were expanding their internal subversion of Ukraine so that in 1709 under tsar Peter I they were able to defeat the famous Ukrainian hetman Ivan Mazepa at Poltava. Mazepa was allied to the Swedish king Charles XII. In 1775 Russian armies on orders of tsarin

8) N. Chirovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.

Catharina II destroyed the last bastion of Ukrainian independence — the Zaporozhe Sich on the lower Dniπρο River.

Solzhenitsyn claims that "Alexander I had even entered Paris with his army, but he did not annex an inch of European soil" (805). This claim is untrue, because under Alexander I (1801-1825) Ukraine was moaning in colonial yoke. Similarly were the three Baltic nations and Byelorussia. Russia conquered Finland in 1809. So was Georgia in the Caucasus (1801).

Alexander also took the Bilostok region from Prussia. All over Europe he proclaimed Russian messianistic ideas. The Holy Alliance, an off-spring of his views, was to serve as a hot-bed of Russian imperialistic expansionism and an agency for combatting anti-Russian nationalist movements. The wars of Alexander I in Europe cost Ukraine tremendous losses in manpower and taxes on behalf of the Russian colonial empire. In 1812 Alexander's forces occupied Bessarabia and Northern Azerbaijan. In 1814-15 Central Poland was incorporated into his empire. Actually Alexander I dreamed of a world empire, first in a coalition with Napoleon, and later together with the reactionary regimes of Austria and Prussia. In Ukraine there arose a secret anti-Russian pro-Napoleonic liberation movement. Later, in 1819 another secret society entitled the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine was formed in the Poltava region led by an aristocrat, Vasyl Lukashevych. The society was composed predominantly of the elite of the former Ukrainian Hetman State, liquidated by Catharine II in 1780. It proclaimed as its goal the reestablishment of the Ukrainian independent state.

The "paradise" in the Russian empire during the 19th century, so beautifully described by the novelist A. Solzhenitsyn, looked in reality quite different. The Ukrainian genius, Taras Shevchenko, painted the true picture of this "paradise" as it existed in mid- 19th century Ukraine. Ukrainian peasantry was in total slavery, treated worse than cattle. Ukrainian intelligentsia was under KGB-like permanent surveillance and pressure to renounce their own nationality. Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855) established the ill-famed "Third Section" — a copy of Ivan the Terrible's "Oprichniki" — a secret political police with duties to constantly watch over the activities of the intelligentsia, especially of the subjugated peoples. The slightest deviation from the official doctrines of tsardom were registered and then their advocates were persecuted as dissenters. The "Third Section" existed till 1917, and almost without interruption its duties were taken over by the Cheka-GPU-NKVD-MVD-KGB. No wonder, tsar Nicholas I is called a "gendarme of Europe".

The peoples enslaved in the Russian tsarist empire were not less afraid of the Third Section than of the KGB in the Russian Communist empire. Ukrainians were dying by tens of thousands in Russia's constant colonial wars. Slightest expressions of sympathy for the liberation of Ukraine or other peoples was ruthlessly sup-

pressed. For example, a society of Ukrainian intelligentsia of Kyiv was formed in 1846 propagating national liberation ideas. When it was discovered by the Third Section, all of its members were sentenced to long-term deportations to Siberia, including Taras Shevchenko.

The constant stream of political prisoners throughout the 19th century to the Solovetsk dungeons on the White Sea is well described by P. Yefymenko and M. Kolchyn. Persecution of national freedom-fighters of the enslaved nations by the tsarist regime was not less than that of the KGB today. During the three centuries preceding the Communist take-over of the Russian empire close to one million political prisoners were deported or exiled to Siberia alone.

But strangely enough, Mr. Solzhenitsyn without hesitation stated: "pre-revolutionary Russia... with her many nationalities, knew no deportations of entire peoples and no armed separatist movements" (804-80). How about the Polish armed uprising of 1830, which was ruthlessly crushed by tsarist occupation forces? How about Russian imperialist conquests in 1829 up to the Danube? Or of East Armenia in 1828? Or of Kars in the same year? How about crushing the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 by Russian interventionist forces? How about the year of conquest and extermination conducted against the North-Caucasians led by the famous Shamil, 1834-1864? How about crushing the anti-colonialist movements of Ukrainian peasantry in the Kyiv province in the 1830s as the result of which tens of thousands of Ukrainian peasants were deported to Siberia?

Colonialist conquests of Russia continued under tsars Alexander II (1855-1881). In 1858 the Amur region was occupied. In 1860 — the Ussuri region. In 1864 — came the final subjugation of North Caucasus. The famed leader of the North-Caucasians, Shamil, with hundreds of captured freedom-fighters were imprisoned in Russia where all of them were liquidated. In 1866 Russians invaded the Emirate of Bokhara. In 1873 they subdued the Khanate of Khiva. In 1876 the Khanate of Kokand was overrun. In the late 70s Russian invasion forces under M. Muravyov and Bergov crushed new Polish and Lithuanian liberation uprisings, followed by terror and oppression.

As far as Solzhenitsyn's cynical and erroneous statement is concerned that "there was complete cultural freedom, the intelligentsia was not restricted in its activity, religious and philosophical views of every shade were tolerated..." (804), it suffices to mention the fact that in 1876 tsar Alexander II issued a decree which outlawed the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian culture, prohibited the use of Ukrainian in religious services, prohibited any Ukrainian publication. The then tsar's minister Valuyev stated: "There never was, there is not, and there never will be a Ukrainian language". Is that statement of the tsarist Russian regime not a racist and chauvinistic policy? The best response of the Ukrainians to the 1876-decree was formulated by the prominent lawyer and political leader, Mykola

Miknovskiy in "An Open Letter to the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Sypyagin" in 1900. Mikhnovskyi wrote: "The law of the tsar of 17 May, 1876 is a crime against the Holy Ghost, because it grimly and unmercifully sentences to spiritual death our whole nation"⁹.

A very good proof that tsarist Russia was actually a colonial state is the fact that as the result of the downfall of the tsarist regime in 1917 and the weakening of Russia after the World War all the captive nations reestablished their independent states and none wished to remain within the Russian state. All these national states (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Don-Cossackia, Georgia, Kuban, Armenia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and others) were immediately attacked and invaded by Communist forces of the Russian SFSR on one side and the Russian anti-communist emigre forces on the other. Lenin's armies were as brutal as the armies of the monarchist generals Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel. Reading Mr. Solzhenitsyn's writings there came to mind a widely known saying of tsar Alexander I: "He who does not lie, is not a Muscovite".

On communism in Russia

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's attempt to detach communism from any connection with the Russian people and state is fruitless because of the abundance of documentation proving the opposite. He must surely know that Russia was in the second half of the 19th century full of various kinds of socialists. It would obviously be ludicrous to advocate the view that all these Russian socialists were not Russians but some international conspirators. The theoretical and political heritage of these Russian socialists must be taken into account as having direct relations to Russian Communists and influence upon the formation of the Leninist movement. One scholar convincingly showed the influence upon the Bolsheviks of the so-called People's movement or Populists¹⁰.

Writings and acts of the Russian social-revolutionaries had also some influence upon the rise of Russian Marxists. N. G. Chernyshevskiy, P. L. Lavrov, N. K. Mykhaylovskiy, Nechayev, V. Chernov, P. Tkachov and other social-revolutionaries were not only prominent Russians but also in high esteem of Lenin, Plekhanov and many other Russian Marxists. It would be absurd to argue that all these people did not compose part of the contemporary Russian intelligentsia which in turn was part of the Russian people. Then the Russian nihilists-anarchists M. Bakunin and P. Kropotkin had some influence upon Russian Marxists.

9) P. Mirchuk, *Mykola Mikhnovskyi*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1960.

10) Yu. Boyko, *The Movement of Russian 'Narodniki' as a Source of Leninism-Stalinism*. Munich, 1959. Also: F. Venturi, *Il populismo russo*, Turin, 1952; Th. G. Masaryk, *Zur russischen Geschichts- und Religionsphilosophie*, Jena, 1913; H. Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia*, London, 1952 etc.

The founder of the social-democratic movement in Russia, the nobleman G. V. Plekhanov was a 100 per cent Russian. He belonged at first to the social-revolutionary group called "Zemlya i Volya". abroad.

Later Plekhanov formed a secret society "Chernyi Peredel" (1880-1881), which certainly was a Russian group and not some alien force. Next he founded in 1883 the "Group for the Liberation of Labour", composed mostly of Russians. The tsarist regime persecuted and tried to crush all the various socialist groups as Russian dissident anti-regime groups and not as some foreign groups, coming from

When in 1898 the All-Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was founded, it became another of the many anti-regime groups in the Russian imperial state. Perhaps only true strict followers of Karl Marx might be considered non-Russian or supra-national forces. But there were no such groups, because Marx himself wrote that Russia is not yet ready for a true proletarian revolution. V. I. Lenin and his followers took only some doctrinaire aspects of Marx's theory and adapted it to Russian national and imperial conditions. For example, in Marx's writings there was not a word about using mass terror on the model of Ivan the Terrible, as was used by Lenin's movement. Lenin realized soon that Marx's theory was a fiction, a utopia. Thus very soon, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Bolshevik party became a Russian imperialistic and messianistic party advancing exclusively Russia's national interests under the cover of a utopian proletarian doctrine.

After the downfall of the tsarist regime in the Russian empire a Temporary Government was formed. But parallel with it the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers was established, composed of various Russian socialist groups. No one will argue that the one was a Russian institution and the other non-Russian.

The absolute majority of the members of the soviet were Russians. The coup d'état of 6-7 November 1917 was performed primarily by Russians and not by any political forces from outside Russia¹¹. Lenin took over the reigns of the Russian socialist-marxist movement from Plekhanov, because he was convinced to be able to work better for the preservation of Russia's gib-power status. He devalued Marxist theorizing and retained this non-Russian doctrine only for a propagandistic window-dressing. However he gained followship and trust of the Russians when he started to act as a traditional Russian ruler — despotic, ruthless and terroristic, proclaiming continuously Russia's messianistic role in the world, urging immediate conquest and pillage of foreign lands. He convinced very many Russians to follow him in attempts to overthrow the decaying tsarist elite and replacing it with a new people's rulers, having simultaneously in mind the principle of preserving the imperialistic heritage. While orthodox

11) The predominance of Russians in the Bolshevik movement is well documented in *Russia and her Colonies* by W. Kolarz, New York, 1952.

Marxists attempted to explain and follow the doctrine, Lenin with his followers were trying to grasp the pressing issues of the Russian people and empire in a way to be advantageous to Russia. In order to be able to achieve these actual objectives he established apolitical organization.

One of his close associates, G. Zinovyev, gave an excellent description of Lenin's national aspect: "He was a Russian, one might say, from tip to toe. He was the incarnation of Russia, and he knew it and felt it. Despite his long exile and many years during which he lived the life of an emigrant, he personified the Russian mind and soul. When he was living in Cracow, about four and a half miles from the Russian frontiers, he frequently used to drive to the frontier in order to "breathe Russian air" "¹².

Immediately after the founding of the RSDLP, Lenin wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Task of the Russian Social-Democrats*. One commentator gave the following evaluation of this essay: "This first work of Lenin, which belabors practical and organizational questions, reveals Lenin already as the founder and organiser of the party, as we know the Communist Party today. In that essay we perceive less the influence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels than of two Russian revolutionaries of earlier times. They were S. G. Nechayev (1847-1882) who wrote 'the Catechism of a revolutionary' and brought up for the first time the requirement that only the professional revolutionary who influenced Lenin in his practical and organizational aspects is P. N. Tchachov (1844-1885)... He expounded the view of a 'conspiratorial minority', highly centralized and highly disciplined"¹³.

The ideological and organizational objectives of Lenin clearly reveal him as being primarily a Russian, thinking as a Russian messianist. He argued clearly: "Only the complete and most intimate alliance with the Russian proletariat can meet the requirements of the political struggle that is now going on against tsarism, only this alliance can assure complete political and economic freedom"¹⁴. Leaving aside semantics, Lenin's argumentation is very similar to the one of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In short, Lenin (and Solzhenitsyn) argued that only the Russian people are able to make historical changes. Only the Russians are masters of our destinies.

Accordingly Lenin worked for many years to make the RSDLP an imperial party, strongly in the hands of the Russians but bringing into it collaborators from other peoples, individuals who were russified so much that they performed the function of Russian "fifth columns" in their own societies. In this vein Lenin formulated a resolution adopted at the party conference in Stockholm, 1906: "We avow and present to the conference for adoption: the imperative need to use

12) G. Zinovyev, *V. I. Lenin*, Leningrad, 1925, p. 159.

13) W. Scharndorf, *Moskaus permanente Säuberung*, Munich, Olzog, 1964, pp. 13-14.

14) V. I. Lenin, *National Question in Our Program*, 1903.

all means for the fusion of all national Social-Democratic parties of Russia in a single Russian SDLP as soon as possible..." However the Bolsheviks did not have much success in it, because the RSDLP always remained a Russian national party and never turned to be a real inter-national party, composed of Marxists of the various peoples within the Russian empire.

Starting in 1918 the Bolsheviks alone with the power of the Russian people had to conquer one by one every people which reestablished its national statehood. The top echelon of Lenin's party became the new ruling elite in the reconstructed Russian colonial empire, as Lenin so fervently desired back in 1917: "Russia after the 1905 Revolution was ruled by 130,000 landlords... And yet we are told that Russia cannot be governed by the 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party"¹⁵. The historical fact must be stressed, which Mr. Solzhenitsyn prefers to ignore, that since the inception of the RSDLP(b) its Russian members always retained the absolute majority. Members from other nationalities formed always small minorities, although Lenin constantly endeavoured to place these non-Russian Bolsheviks in visible positions to hold formally important functions in order to create the illusion of a really international movement, which never came about. However, Mr. Solzhenitsyn attempts to convince Western societies in the opposite, namely, that the Bolshevik movement was a true internationalist movement. It is the goal which neither Lenin nor his successors were able to achieve.

We have a testimony of Lenin's chief representative to the then independent Ukrainian (non-communist) national state in 1918-1919. He was V. Zatonsky who confessed: "In Ukraine the party of the Bolsheviks, as well as the majority of the industrial proletariat there, is composed mainly of Russians, if not by nationality, then by culture... we are being called russifiers by true Ukrainians. To recognize Ukraine as Ukraine — our souls are not inclined to do so..."¹⁶

Solzhenitsyn's statement about the non-Russian and anti-Russian nature of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) is disproved by a certain Safarov, delegate to the 10th Congress of the RCP(b) in 1921, who said: "Well, who succeeded in penetrating the Party there?.. The old Russian official... those who actually got into our ranks were the communist person, the Russian policeman, and the Kulak from Semirechie, who to this day keeps dozens of hired labourers, has hundreds of cattle, and hunts the Kirghiz like game... The Russian Great-Power kulaks, who were ordained to become the 'bearers' of proletarian dictatorship in the borderlands, did thrust the native masses back into the camp of the counter-revolution... Naturally in the industrially undeveloped borderlands the number of

¹⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*, 1917.

¹⁶ *Iz nedavnogo proshlogo* in "Kommunist", n. 3-4.

Russian proletarians was infinitesimal, and at the same time, since authority had to be constituted of Russians, kulaks and others followed suit... this is the heritage of imperialist colonial relations. It is the automatic continuation of the old colonial relations behind a Soviet facade... According to statistics from the Semirechie region, during the time of the revolution Russian kulak landownership increased from 53 per cent to 70 per cent. Take note, Comrades, during the time of the revolution, during the time of Soviet power! And at the same time the number of Kirghiz who died out in the Semirechie region rose to 35 per cent"¹⁷.

The Russian CP(b) established its branches in the conquered countries, like the CP(b) Ukraine, called by a Russian scholar, "the party of a Russian element"¹⁸. Another scholar commented: "One can at least project what kind of an 'element' it was from the fact that it was formed artificially in Moscow... and that it did not have any Ukrainian foundations"¹⁹.

At the meeting of the CP(b)U in Kowel, October 1919, it was resolved: "The southward movement and the establishment of the soviet government in Ukraine will be possible only with the assistance of regular military forces (in no case of native origin)"²⁰. As in Ukraine, so in Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Siberia and other areas were the "communists" in position to set their occupation system only by means of Russian military and political forces. While the RCP(b) was the political government, the CheKa — the terroristic administration, so was the Red Army the main power of Lenin. But the Red Army was the army of the Russian state.

A. Solzhenitsyn's uppermost concept is to show that the state called "the USSR" is actually "Russia", and the Russian people should be the sovereign in it. The identical principle guided all the policies of V. I. Lenin. For example, he demanded: "Evil councilors of (Ukrainian) workers, petty-bourgeois intelligentsia from 'Dzvin' go out of their skins in attempting to separate Ukrainian Social-Democratic workers from the Great Russians"²¹. At all cost Lenin (and Solzhenitsyn) worked for the preservation of the "one and indivisible" Russian colonial empire. He said: "The Socialists of the oppressed nations... must particularly fight for and maintain complete, absolute unity (also organizational) between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation"²². The principle of domination of the RCP(b) by Russians is formulated clearly in the Program of the RCP adopted in 1919 at the 8th Congress: "Ukraine,

17) 10. Syezd RCP(b), Moscow, 1963, p. 190-192.

18) M. Ravich-Cherkasky, *Istoriya KP(b)U*, Kharkiv, Gosyzdat, 1923, p. 148.

19) F. Pigido, *Ukraine under the Bolshevik Occupation*, Munich, 1956, p. 18.

20) Underlining original, *Litopys Revolyutsiyi*, 1936, n. 6.

21) *Primechanie 'ot redaktsiyi' k 'obrashcheniyu k ukrainskim rabochim'*, Oksana Loly, 1914.

22) *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1916.

Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia exist at the present time as separate Soviet republics... But this does not in the least mean that the Russian Communist Party should, in turn, reorganize itself as a federation of independent Communist parties... there is a need for the existence of a single centralized Communist Party with a single central committee... All decisions of the RCP and of its supreme institutions are unconditionally compulsory for all sections of the party, disregarding their nationality composition. The CC of the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian communists can make use of the rights of provincial committees of the party and are completely subordinated to the CC of the Russian CP"²³.

Present-day fact glaringly proves that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the party of Russians: out of 14 members of the Politburo there are nine nationally-conscious Russians, while the other five are russified persons from the subjugated peoples. No wonder, during the Communist rule Russia reached such aggrandizement and expansion, which she never before obtained. While the number of Russians doubled, the enslaved peoples lost tens of millions of their countrymen as the result of Moscow's systematic policy of destroying the non-Russian peoples.²⁴

What should be done?

Alexander Solzhenitsyn speaks to the Western peoples not as a refugee from tyranny and oppression but from the position of a master race dictating what should be done or threatening if his precepts are not followed. For example, as if a preacher he says: "The only salvation for the entire world lies in..." (816). "Without the rebirth of a healthy, nation-minded Russia, America itself will not survive..." (821). "It would be disastrous to fight the Russians..." (ibidem). "I can envision no salvation for mankind other than..." (832). Solzhenitsyn was paraphrasing Vladimir Lenin in repeating the age-old Russian messianistic racism: "I wish all the people well, and the closer they are to us, and the more dependent upon us, the more fervent is my wish" (832).

A. Solzhenitsyn wants the West to regard the state called the USSR as the state of the Russian people, and not as an imperial state created by Russian conquests of many freedom-loving independent nations. He urges the West to continue to give its assent to the policy of nationcide of the enslaved peoples within the USSR.

Uppermost in his mind is probably the theme of convincing the

²³ *Program of the RCP, 1919, 8th Congress of the RCP.*

²⁴ An excellent overall analysis of Russian Communism and Leninism is found in *The Real Face of Russia*, edited by V. Bohdaniuk, London, 1967.

Western nations to forget about any thoughts to assist the national-liberation movements inside the Soviet Union, because they work for the liquidation of the Russian colonial empire. Solzhenitsyn wants the West to cooperate primarily or even exclusively with the so-called representatives of the Russian people, namely with the Russian dissidents. Western nations should limit their policies to combating the communist rulers in the Kremlin as if they were aliens to the Russian people. In no case should the Western nations advocate a policy of dismemberment of the USSR into independent nation-states of the various non-Russian peoples.

The West should advocate only a need to replace the present Soviet-Russian elite by another Russian elite. Consequently, Russian imperialism, Russian racism, russification or denationalization of whole subjugated peoples, Russian economic colonialism — all those matters according to A. Solzhenitsyn are non-existent or negligibly minor problems.

The methods to achieve his goal should according to Alexander Solzhenitsyn be as follows: First, the West should stop attacking by word and deed everything which is Russian. Second, the West should express its sincerest friendship for the Russian people, as the population of the USSR in general. Third, only peaceful-evolutionary means should be used in bringing about the replacement of the communist regime by a "truly" Russian regime, "as a shift to a path of reconciliation, recovery, love..." (825). In such a way, Mr. Solzhenitsyn tries to assure us, will come "the slow and smooth descent via an authoritarian system" (827) to a future "paradise" better than anything humanity has ever known. However because the empire should remain, Solzhenitsyn's "authoritarian system" will actually become identical for the colonially enslaved peoples with the present-day "dictatorship of the proletariat".

The entire method proposed by Solzhenitsyn is a nice fiction story, because without any use of force no one will be able to induce the current rulers in Moscow to voluntarily step down and give over the reigns of power to some other Russians, wanting to replace them. Thus one has to conclude that Solzhenitsyn does not really want to achieve his propagated objectives but to strengthen Western friendship to the existing Russian empire, although criticising its many mistakes and failures. Such a reasoning is justified, because hardly any statesman or diplomat will believe that Solzhenitsyn's objectives can be achieved "through an organic development of accumulated national experience, and it must be free of any external coercion" (828).

Whatever foreign policy toward the Russian empire the Western nations will follow in the future, let Mr. Solzhenitsyn reassure that the enslavement of the 50 million Ukrainians will be progressively more different to retain by Russia. During 1918-1922 tens of thousands of Ukrainians fought first in the regular army of the Ukrainian

national state (Ukrainian People's Republic) and later in guerrilla units throughout those areas of Ukraine which were occupied by Communist Russia. Ukrainians will never forget the many millions of their countrymen who died as the result of artificial famines arranged by the Russian government in 1921-1922, in 1932-1933 and in 1945-1946. During the 1940's a quarter of a million of Ukrainians fought with arms in their hands against the Nazi-German and Communist-Russian invaders. Let Mr. Solzhenitsyn remember that the biggest battles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were conducted against Soviet-Russian forces not only in Western Ukraine but on the territory of present-day Zhytomyr, Khmelnytskyi, Vinnytsya and Kyiv oblasts (provinces). Against the communist-Russians, in other words, were and still are fighting not only Western Ukrainians but similarly those Ukrainians, to whom Alexander Solzhenitsyn does not want to recognize the Ukrainian nationality and calls them "Russians". Let Mr. Solzhenitsyn remember the words of a well-known present-day Ukrainian political prisoner of the Russians: "Even if I should remain alone, I shall continue the struggle for Ukrainian national independence against Russian chauvinists and colonialists". And he, Yevhen Sverstyuk, is not by any means a West-Ukrainian.

We believe that the concepts and ideas expressed in the "Captive Nations Week", Public Law 86-90 of the US Congress will not wane, as Mr. Solzhenitsyn fervently desires, but will flourish and result in a proper US foreign policy. The captive nations within the Russian empire are the Achilles' heel of Russia. That is why Mr. Solzhenitsyn hates this resolution. He is also very much afraid of a Western alliance with China and Japan against the Russian empire. And he dislikes all those Jews who are exposing in the West racism and imperialism.

Let us conclude our reply to Mr. Solzhenitsyn with a quotation of a recent document signed by thirteen Ukrainian nationalists incarcerated in the terrible Vladimir prison. They wrote: "Russian dissidents in Western countries expose the anti-democratic character of the Soviet social-political regime. Moscow is already accustomed to such a criticism, even when the true testimonies of dissidents result in some attacks upon its global propaganda and create some difficulties for its international manipulations. They do not threaten the existence of the empire itself (which has since 1922 the name 'USSR').

Moscow accepted the fact that in the eyes of the West the Soviet Union is 'not quite' a democratic state. One can still live with such a world opinion. However one cannot live in the second half of the 20th century with the face of an empire. Therefore, Moscow is doing everything in order to cover up the imperialistic substance of its nationality policy and to hide the wide-spread dissatisfaction with

Russian occupation of Ukraine, the Baltic peoples and of the Caucasian peoples... The goal of Ukrainian nationalists is not the democratization or any kind of perfection of the forms of Russian political existence. Our goal is to achieve the exit of Ukraine out of the USSR and the reestablishment of the Ukrainian state. This goal contradicts with the aggressive spirit of Russian imperialism, and its achievement means the destruction of the Russian empire. It would mean a failure of Russia's desire to rule over the whole world. The criticism of the Russian regime by the nationalists means exposure of the nature of the Soviet Union as a Russian empire. Such a criticism endangers the existence of the empire itself. Communists — the vanguard of Russian imperialism — are doing everything in order to turn Western criticism of the USSR into channels of analyzing the social and even the political position of a citizen in the USSR away from inter-nationality relations"²⁵.

²⁵) *Appeal of 13 Ukrainian Political Prisoners-Nationalists at the Vladimir Prison to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, 1976, Liberation Path, monthly, London, December 1976.*

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH OF HALYCHYNA

First published in the Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk 1905 vol. XXX, bk. IV, p. II-19.

Ivan Franko was an eminent 19th Century Ukrainian intellectual. He excelled as a novelist, poet, playwright, translator, critic, journalist, and political thinker.

It has been said that his mission was "to remake the moral fibre of his people" and "rebuild a shattered edifice".

Fired by the concern for the welfare of the Ukrainian People and the ideals of truth and justice, he hated those who oppressed his people and their "pettiness, narrow material egotism, duplicity and pride".

Below we give a translation of an essay by Ivan Franko entitled Odvertyj Lyst do Halyts'koyi Molodizhi directed at the youth of the Western Ukrainian provinces of Halychyna and Bukovyna. In it Franko forecasts the collapse of the Russian Empire and considers its possible consequences for the whole of Ukraine. The essay in many ways reflects the moral and intellectual qualities of Ivan Franko mentioned above.

Some national, political, cultural and social themes raised by Franko, such as Russian despotism, and the need for better moral and cultural standards in Ukraine have been taken up by modern Ukrainian poets and intellectuals such as Vasyl Symonenko (see his poems Sud and Ya banned in the USSR) and Yevhen Sverstiuk (his essays Sobor v ryhstovanni, and Ivan Kotliarevskyj smiet'sya).

What I am about to say, young friends, is so important and joyful, and at the same time so difficult and unpleasant to express. I wish someone more authoritative than myself were writing this, someone whom you love, respect and trust most, so that the words may enter your hearts like a powerful impulse to new life and an urge to new action: the adaptation of your very "selves" to a new outlook.

We have reached a great turning point. Our feelings of longing and envy when we read about the stormy years of 1789 and 1848 are no longer a fantasy. And not only that; the tidal wave of history has caught us in its wake, carrying our nation almost to the forefront of events.

Eastern Europe including Ukraine is undergoing a period of spring; the glacier of absolutism and despotism is cracking; national forces are searching for new paths and forms of expression amid terrible catastrophies; the inexpressible grief inflicted on nations by the present regime has provoked the most diverse feelings and roused the deepest instincts in the human soul, calling them to battle. The inevitable consequence of this must be the complete transformation initially of the state and subsequently public and social structures within Russia¹, Ukraine included.

My young friends those of you who read with interest news coming from Russia, have you thought about the importance of these events to our nation, to all of us, to each individual? World history is not the history of heroes but of mass movements and changes; surely we

1) The Russian Empire.

individuals comprise this mass called to action and change by these events? Have you considered where these movements might lead us, the reverberations in our individual lives as a result of the changes and the responsibilities cast on each of us by the current of events? In my opinion as people, conscious and able to think, we should all consider this more often and more deeply than anything else that has interested us before. We are on the eve of a major epoch and woe betide us and our nation if we meet it weak and unprepared!

The great epoch for our nation will begin with the collapse of absolutism in Russia. Recent events indicate that this is near at hand. If we believe in the authenticity of the Tsar's rescript to Minister Bulygin ordering him to prepare the convocation of elected national representatives for consultation on matters of state then it appears that the collapse has begun, in principle at least. Certainly, for this reason the Tsar's rescript cannot be taken seriously, though the very fact that no one pays much attention to such rescripts is another symptom of the decline of autocracy. In other words the tide of history has turned.

What does the fall of absolutism in Russia hold in store for us? What will it be replaced by?

Its successor is no unknown quantity or sphinx with a hidden face. It is well-known and has clearly impressed itself on previous Russian history: it will be liberalism of a capitalist brand. History will be dominated by the liberal Russian landowner with a European education, the Polish noble, the wealthy manufacturer, the merchant, lawyer, professor, journalist, doctor and to a lesser extent the intelligent worker. Capital and the intelligentsia will characterise the new regime in Russia. Historical aristocratic traditions in Russia are not strong and we will perhaps see the end of the feudal regime protected from misery by the veneer of a constitution existing in Halychyna, Russia and Ukraine.² Clearly, Russian liberalism is already showing and will show once it has established itself other equally dangerous signs. It is extremely theoretical and very doctrinaire. Doctrinaire politicians, liberals included, have always been the worst and most harmful politicians. Doctrine is built on formulae which push living people and real interests into the background. Doctrine is a uniform, a leveller, and the enemy of all particularism. Doctrine by nature inclines towards centralism which sacrifices actual people and their actual welfare in the name of abstract principles. We Ukrainians have in the course of time witnessed millions of examples of cruelty meted out to living people and nations by absolutism, armed with three doctrines: Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Russification. These doctrines have penetrated too deeply into the flesh and blood of Russian society to give us any hope of a sudden or fundamental change taking place in the regime when the all-powerful Russia liberal takes over control from the all-powerful bureaucrat.

2) Present day Eastern Ukraine which was part of the Russian Empire.

True, the doctrine of Orthodoxy may lose its edge of exclusiveness (a liberal is a liberal because he is indifferent to ritual doctrine); however, the doctrine of Autocracy and Russification can easily join forces with liberal doctrinairism: it is sufficient to replace the autocrat by the idea of autocracy, the concept of the indivisibility and unity of Russia, the inviolability of the Russian Great Power position and the fundamental catexogene of "Russian" state politics i.e. the Great Russians — to prolong the previous policy of ruin, exploitation and stultification of the borderlands for the "good" of the centre which would lead to national autocracy in a liberal and constitutional jacket in Hungarian style.

There is a great deal of evidence of this kind of liberal autocracy in Russian society. The Russians have been systematically and thoroughly nursed and trained by the present bureaucratic and autocratic school, to ignore any organic growth, anything original, particular or individual, despise it as petty and backward or to break it as something out of line with the monolithic nature of Russia (hence the pointless and senseless trampling of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania and Finland etc.). Only where this doctrinaire autocracy meets active, organised, rudimentary opposition in Poland, Finland and to a small extent Lithuania, does it show any willingness to make concessions or at least negotiate. A doctrinaire blinded by his formulae can only be impressed by hard facts which eventually crack his stubborn skull.

Autocratic doctrinairism met the least opposition in Ukraine. Not only because the Ukrainian word was bound and gagged, but mainly because a large section of Ukrainians brought up on the same autocratic doctrinaire ideas ignored their own Ukrainian particularism, were ashamed of it in their hearts, regarded themselves as '*gente Ukraini, natione Russi*'³ and obviously worshiped and will continue to worship the phantom of "Great and Indivisible Russia".

The Ukrainian intelligentsia with more freedom in Russia is now faced with the major task of forming out of the huge ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people — *a Ukrainian nation*, a uniform, cultural organism capable of independent cultural and political life, immune to assimilation by other nations whoever they may be, although at the same time capable of absorbing to the utmost and at the quickest rate the achievements of universal culture, without which today no nation or state, however powerful, can exist.

You will be well aware of the great difficulties inherent in this task when you see the state of Ukraine on the eve of the new epoch; no schools or developed pedagogical traditions; no clergy concerned with education and the well-being of the people; no popular or higher literature capable at least in the heat of the moment of meeting all the spiritual needs of the huge masses; no press able to uphold and systematically defend the national banner, or free cultural work

3) Ukrainian by birth, Russian by nationality.

aimed at satisfying local needs; no hope of finding a sturdy phalanx of conscious representatives educated to the highest modern standards, in legislative bodies; and without major support from the masses and the intelligentsia even for the few representatives who will want to devote themselves entirely to their national and cultural task, our Ukraine will once again be an anvil echoing the tunes of various foreign hammers, or a rabbit on which various supporters of vivisection will carry out their experiments.

This is our great historical task, fellow Halychany and you young friends in particular: to help Russian Ukraine⁴ during the transitional phase and then in the beginning and foundation of the major work: the raising of our national edifice to its full height. You should show your gratitude to Russian Ukraine for all the spiritual and material wealth it has given us. Our future as a nation capable of taking its place among the assembly of nations depends to a very great extent on whether we are conscious of this responsibility and to what degree and whether, and how responsibly, seriously and thoughtfully we fulfil it.

Hitherto, I have waited for and expected someone closer to you and with more authority, to raise this matter; I thought our daily newspapers would and those who like to regard themselves as the patrons and leaders of the people. Unfortunately, I waited in vain. A great many of our guiding lights absorbed by theatrical issues are blind to the outside world, while others who judge the matter independently and view it critically, do not have the strength or the courage to raise their voice and point out clearly and emphatically the magnitude of the present moment, the great tragedy of the situation and the imperative need as quickly and fundamentally as possible to change the course of our national vessel and tune our every thought, plan and programme to a different diapason. We must learn to *feel Ukrainian*, not Ukrainians from Halychyna or Bukovyna, but Ukrainians free from official frontiers. And this feeling should not be lip service but must lead to practical consequences. We should all without exception first recognise our Ukraine, her entire ethnographic territory, her present cultural state, learn about her natural resources and social problems, and absorb this knowledge so deeply that we feel every partial local pain and rejoice at each albeit tiny or partial success. Above all, we should *understand* all the manifestations of her life to that we truly feel that we are an actual part of it.

Do not forget that hitherto in Halychyna we have lived a very abnormal life from the national point of view. A large part of our nation was powerless and speechless and only a small number of us had freedom of movement and speech. Sometimes we felt that we were her healthy ranks, her representatives before the world. Now that sooner or later Russian Ukraine will see the birth of dozens of such centres as already exist in Lviv and Chernivtsi, our leading role

⁴) Russian occupied Ukraine.

is over. We must no longer regard ourselves as pioneers, but as rank and file in a great column. We have no right to regard our petty, local matters as national, or our paltry, personal ambitions as matters of urgent general concern.

Now even our basic national problems although they will continue to be on the agenda for a long time yet, must undergo a shift of emphasis. We must understand clearly, realise and be aware that the Polish-Ukrainian question will henceforth no longer be confined to Lviv, the front will be much broader and each stage will be settled in Lviv, Chernivtsi, Kamyanets-Podil's'kyj, Zhytomyr and Kyiv. Similarly, our fight in Halychyna and Bukovyna against the Moscovophiles will now be infinitely greater in scope while its form and content will deepen in proportion to the extent it grows into a struggle of all-Ukrainian national feeling against the assimilatory pretensions of the Great Russian national "state". Our relations with the Jews must change significantly when the time comes for our nation "autonomously" to heal the septic sores inflicted on it by Muscovite bureaucracy through the century of intensive settlement of Jews on our territory in so called "settlement areas" and by the barbaric, inhuman experiments of the government: the organising of anti-Jewish pogroms to divert from themselves outbursts of national grief and outrage.

All our national and social questions must also change radically when the present "Walls of China" separating us from Ukraine, collapse. Our literature and press must achieve higher standards if they are to avoid being paralyzed by competition from the kind of literature and press which has developed in Russia regardless of pressure from censorship and perhaps even thanks to it. Tighter, more frequent and closer contacts with Ukrainians abroad must broaden and liberate our outlook and friendly relations in contrast to those which developed under Polish aristocratic and German seminary influences. Our loud, phraseological and to a greater extent insincere patriotism since it is only lip service, must be replaced by a serious, silent though deep-rooted love for the people expressed not in words but deeds. Our mass inertia which accepts without criticism the words of those who in one way or another have been placed at the "head of the nation" and became ambassadors, professors and chairmen of societies etc., must give way to vital, critical thought and readiness to express a personal opinion too in general matters and to actively exercise one's civil rights at personal risk though in full awareness. Our tolerance verging on spinelessness of the mistakes and weaknesses of our neighbours even when they change from private life to the social and public arena, must be substituted by a more active moral sense and a more lively reaction to any moral depravity which might affect our social relations. Otherwise, my dear friends, here in Halychyna and Bukovyna, instead of being the spiritual centre of Ukraine we will become a putrid, stink-

ing sore which every conscious Ukrainian still in possession of an active sense of self-respect, will avoid like the plague.

This moral transformation which will not happen overnight but as a result of the work of generations, and to which each one of us should apply himself by personal decision, is the prerequisite for closer friendly and productive cooperation between us and Ukrainians abroad. My young friends, if only you knew how much disappointment, disillusionment and reluctance have grown as a result of previous relations between Halychany, Bukovyntsi and Ukraine, how embarrassed and annoyed Ukrainians have often been by our 'national' or more to the point local shortcomings: unpunctuality, gossip and empty talk, lack of character, apathy, moral inertia, indifference to important general matters matched by an obsession with trifles, empty ambition and lack of self-criticism, and the vaunting of European forms masking a fundamental lack of education and culture. If you knew and felt this in proportion to the demands of the present moment, I have no doubt that in the hearts of each one of you you would find the moral strength to recite and swear "Hannibal's oath": from today I will make every effort to rid myself of those shortcomings, behave better and work more diligently at self-improvement.

I say this only for your benefit, particularly those of you willing to make contact with Ukrainians, to protect him and whoever he makes contact with from unpleasantness and disappointment. The main thing is how can we Halychany and Bukovyntsi help Ukraine in a freer Russia. We are not rich in capital but Ukraine will not need our capital. Similarly, those Halychany and Bukovyntsi are mistaken whose appetites are already whet by the hope that freedom in Russia will open the door for them to pursue personal interests, lucrative positions and real profits without doing any work. Certainly, in comparison with our miserable state of pay the situation in Russia may seem marvellous to many. However, let us not forget that there are many competitors everywhere for easy wages, and Russia in particular abounds with such "Tashkenters"⁵ with whom our candidates will find it difficult to compete. "Tashkenters", adventurers or easy-wage profiteers are not what Ukraine expects from us. And if we cannot provide anything else, or anything better than shame and woe be upon us!

We will not impress Ukrainians by our intellect and the level of our theoretical education. Bad fortune forced us to grow up and be taught in a country where thanks to the aristocratic regime education is regarded as a dangerous weapon which should not be allowed to pass into the hands of the people, where schooling from the outset is contaminated by confessional, political and national prejudices, where free criticism has been eliminated from education where as it

5) Speculators?

were Brotstudium⁶, vocationally and career oriented learning, narrow and far removed from the broad humanism which forms the foundation of Western European and in some parts Russian Higher Education. So we cannot offer much in this field to Ukraine. At best we could contribute as language teachers, teaching — German, Polish and to a small extent the classical languages, since language teaching in our schools is encouraged much more than in Russia. Although it must be said here that in recent years there has been a relapse and the knowledge of German for example which the younger generations receive from the gymnasia of Halychyna will shatter anyone with slightly higher standards of learning*.

Some will think that at least our school text books which already provide full courses in primary and intermediate schools may be useful to Ukraine. Unfortunately, it must be said that all hopes in this direction are in vain. Our text books are after all mainly thanks to the ruling regime in Halychyna, mostly unoriginal, based on obsolete, pedagogical principles; some are so far below the levels of modern science (e.g. Natural History) that their direct use in Ukrainian Schools in Russia is out of the question. At the most they can be used by authors of new text-books for terminology.

Nevertheless, we do have something that can be put to use by Ukrainians in Russia. I mean, our practical sense, our habit of paying more attention to concrete facts than theories, our more developed habits in public life, organisation and parliamentarianism. Too many years of struggle for national rights have left us with a certain tradition and considerable experience in such matters, which may be extremely useful now that Russian Ukraine is about to undergo a baptism of fire between Poland and Muscovy⁷. True, even these positive features in the spiritual atmosphere in Halychyna have a tendency to change frequently into narrowmindedness, timidity, indifference to any courageous act, and cliquishness. Certainly, new historical developments in a broader context will ipso facto quickly eliminate these drawbacks.

My only concern is, my young friends, to turn the attention of the whole community to this historical tide whose advent we all feel. We shall have to mobilize all our powers to meet its demands. But until then, to work my young friends, to intensive, vigilant self-development! Gain theoretical and practical knowledge, strengthen your will-power, become serious, conscious and stately human beings, full of love for your people and able to show it not by torrential rhetoric but on a tireless, silent, practical level. Every nation, every historical epoch, needs people like these, and all the more so the great historical epoch when all Ukraine for the first time in history will enjoy a period (even if it is short) of full civil rights and political freedom.

⁶) Ger. Education aimed at earning a livelihood.

⁷) Russia proper.

Prof. Constantine H. ANDRUSYSHEN

SKOVORODA, THE SEEKER OF THE GENUINE MAN

This article about Ukraine's most famous philosopher was first published in the Ukrainian Quarterly in 1946.

Of all the men of thought whom European civilization has produced Hrihori Savich Skovoroda (1722-1794) is one of the most curious and interesting figures. His originality lies not so much in the type of philosophy which he professed as in the manner in which he sought to apply it to life, and so out of sheer imponderables to produce the miracle of *quasi* palpable truth, beauty and goodness. The philosophy he pursued can, both in broad outlines and meticulous detail, be recognized in the pre-Socratic, Platonic, Patristic, and Mystic (German) philosophies of the preceding ages. These Skovoroda incorporated in his vast system. And yet, eclectic though he is, he cannot be termed a mere imitator of his forerunners, because the essence of his thought is a thing quite distinct. His was the labour of a bee which gathers nectar here and there, but in the end produces a substance particularly its own.

Skovoroda was born in Ukraine into an ordinary peasant family of Kozak stock. His entire boyhood was spent in direct contact with Nature and this developed in him religious, imaginative and musical tendencies. At the age of six or seven he was taught to read the Psalter and liturgical books by the local sexton. Most of his education, however, he acquired by himself, through extensive reading. His progress was so marked and rapid that his father decided to send him to the Kiev Academy.

The education meted out by the Ukrainian Academy in the eighteenth century was thoroughly scholastic. The system was stagnant and consisted mainly of learning by rote the outmoded rules and principles of logic, dialectics, poetics, and grammar. In no wise did it conform to life and its needs. All manner of independent thought was frowned upon and discouraged. The budding eighteen-year-old philosopher certainly disliked this senile pedagogy, and might have rebelled against it openly if the Academy had not possessed a fairly good library from which he was able to draw enough to broaden his mind independently.

His studies were interrupted by an invitation from Empress Elizabeth Petrovna to join her circle of court singers. In St. Petersburg he remained for two years, after which, upon being released at his own request, he reentered the Academy. All efforts on the part of his superiors to induce him to enter the priesthood were in vain. It is reported that he even simulated simple-mindedness and resorted to stuttering in order to escape their appeals. After about seven years

in the Academy Skovoroda left it, well-versed in the Scriptures, Patristic writings, and ancient literatures and philosophies.

Skovoroda's wish to go abroad was fulfilled when he was asked to become a member of the retinue accompanying Major General Vishensky whose mission was to purchase foreign wines for the Imperial Court. The philosopher was taken with the view to his becoming a precentor in the Orthodox church recently established in Budapest. His wanderings across northern Italy, Austria, Hungary and Poland were somewhat fruitless. Western thought did not appeal to him. He discovered that there was nothing in the countries visited that he had not already learned and experienced in his own: the same injustice, worship of self, poverty humiliated, wealth exalted, ignorance taking precedence over wisdom, innocence persecuted, immorality condoned and even encouraged. On foot, with a knapsack over his shoulder, he returned to his native village of Chornukhi in Poltava region. There he might have remained to gain his livelihood by tilling the soil, but his inner urge ("Minerva" he called it) advised otherwise.

Although he had not quite completed the required course at the Academy, he was invited to teach poetics at the seminary of Pereyaslav. There, almost immediately he came into conflict with the presiding archbishop who opposed his innovations in the poetic theory of the day. Skovoroda championed the accentual system of versification, which was that of Lomonosov, and tended to disregard the conservative syllabic system which he considered detrimental to the melodious effect of the language he spoke. A rupture between him and the prelate followed. And again he found himself cut off from all sourcess, with no other possession but that which was in his knapsack. *Omnia mea mecum porto*, he would often say.

In 1754 he was engaged to tutor the son of a wealthy landowner Stefan Tamara. Treated with disdain by this haughty family, Skovoroda left it after about a year of service. That same year he was in Moscow at the Troytsko-Sergiyevskaya Lavra (Monastery). Its abbot appreciated the visitor's talents, but the philosopher felt too great a yearning for his "aunt" Ukraine, as he called his native land, and returned. As soon as he heard of this, Tamara, repenting his former conduct, had him virtually kidnapped and brought to the estate to continue in his previous capacity. Conditions being now more tolerable, the tutor consented to stay. For the next four years he took full advantage of his relative leisure in order to compose his philosophic poems. This he did mostly out in the open, to the hum of the bees which, in addition to the tones of his own flute, was to him the pleasantest sound in nature; while the finest sight was the sunrise, which he would often go out to meet.

Contemplating the universe, the philosopher waxed ecstatic. He beheld everything around him with the eye of a pantheist. In each living thing, in the tiniest blade of grass he saw the "shadow of the

living soul"; in each ray of light — the echo of God revelling in His creation. "Glory to thee, O morning world", he would exclaim, "glory to thee, O vernal power that fillest my veins, flowers, trees and all things". On such occasions he would produce his flute, which he always carried with him, and pour out his feeling through it, blending its tones with the hues and sounds of Nature. Of a peasant he would now and then inquire: "Where do you think God is?" The reply would be invariably naive: "In heaven... maybe in my heart". These allocations Skovoroda would supplement thus: "Not only there... God is in everything, completely and indivisibly". This is how Skovoroda expressed his first experience of all-prevading divinity: "My first feeling was of a somewhat scattered nature, it was a sense of freedom and uplifting, a hope of something about to happen. When this spiritual state flooded my inner being and my will was possessed by longing, I felt within me a movement that gave me ineffable strength. A sweet fluid filled my soul, and all my interior seemed aflame. In my veins I felt a fiery circuit. I did not walk, but ran, insensible of my feet and hands, as if I were being carried away by an impetus, as if I had become a fiery vapor that moves in the expanses of the surrounding sphere. The entire world vanished from my sight, and only the feeling of love, peace and eternity enlivened my being. Tears in streams flowed from my eyes and overflowed in a kind of sweet harmony that filled my entire constitution. I hearkened introspectively and felt what seemed a filial trust of love. From that time on I devoted myself to ardent obedience to the spirit of God".

He was a vegetarian and satisfied himself with food consisting mainly of fruit, vegetables and milk. He ate once a day, after sunset. A four-hour sleep was enough to refresh him. Yet in spite of this severe regime he remained sturdy and active to the very end. His life was not conventional, but neither was it ascetic. He was known to take an occasional drink. His personal needs being extremely limited, he was always happy and content. Kindness, generosity, regard for all manner of good people, both poor and rich, characterized him and endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. His numerous friends, scattered throughout Ukraine, willingly and eagerly offered him food and shelter, vying with each other for that privilege.

In his later thirties Skovoroda was given the post of a teacher of Poetics at the Kharkiv Collegium. There he met a student, Kovalinsky, who was to be his first biographer and with whom he formed a life-long friendship. There, too, pressure was brought to bear upon him to enter the holy orders, but the philosopher categorically refused to become a monk, maintaining his unwillingness to "increase the number of hypocrites", and claiming that "genuine monasticism is not within the habit but in an unselfish life, in being satisfied with little, in temperance, in avoiding passion and self-adulation, and in seeking the glory of God and not that of men". Later, when he chose

the life of a wanderer, his friends, pained at the sight of his penury, often advised him to become a priest, and so not only grace the church as one of its pillars but also gain well-being for himself and perhaps fame. His reply to them was: "Why do I need all this?... Why a home and other things when I am a universal citizen? Does not he who has a pure heart and the chalice of joy possess much wealth?" And he continued in his lowly mode of life, rejoicing in the thought that "God made all that is necessary easy to attain, and all things difficult — unnecessary".

Like Shakespeare, Skovoroda considered life as a stage; but upon it man was destined to play but one, not several parts. That part depends on the condition and inclination of the player. After long and deep consideration of the problem, Skovoroda came to the conclusion that in order to gain the most out of life, one must remain true to his nature and assume only that role for which he is fashioned. In so doing man fulfils God's will, and so makes himself one with His designs. Skovoroda might have creditably filled many capacities, but early in his life he recognized that he was destined to be an ordinary, unpretentious human being. As such he remained throughout his life — humble with the humble, the least among the lowest, but, on the other hand, proud and severely outspoken with the haughty. It is reported that once he accepted a coin from a poor woman who mistook him for a beggar, merely to make her happy in her almsgiving. The Governor of Kharkiv, Yevdokim Scherbinin, who was a very close friend, Skovoroda treated on level of equality and never addressed him as "Your Excellency". When the Governor, it is reported, brought Empress Catherine II to see the philosopher and asked him to come out to her carriage, Skovoroda said: "I am always ready to be of service to a lady". He did not, however, show her more respect than he would to other women. He allowed himself to be interviewed simply as a matter of conventionality. He derided and berated the vested authorities of the church for their ignorance and hypocrisy. In his opinion, most of them were false shepherds, blind leaders, eager for personal advancement and gain, praying with their lips but not with their hearts. Woe to them! But whatever his railings against the priesthood, it cannot be said that he rebelled against the institution as such, but against its members who, heeding solely their individual comforts, neglected to work for the spiritual betterment of their flock.

Although it was somewhat dangerous, Skovoroda nonetheless made bold to teach that not only the Prophets, Evangelists and the Church Fathers but also the pagan sages and philosophers spoke under the influence of the Holy Ghost. He attacked the general conception prevailing at the Collegium that genuine faith consisted of strict adherence to the ritual, and that the clergy, the rich, and the ruling classes were more pleasing in God's sight than the poor and the serfs who, in the eyes of the former, were considered as just slightly above

the dumb animals. On the contrary, Skovoroda insisted that Christianity was revealed only in humility, well-doing and loving one's neighbour, and that honest labour exalted an individual, whether he be a tsar or a serf. This humanitarian activity is one of the glories of Skovoroda's life, and gave him influence upon the Ukrainian men of letters of the nineteenth century. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 was in some measure due to him.

In the period when enlightenment was intended only for the select (the clergy, gentry and nobility) it was quite original of Skovoroda to proclaim that education must not be squandered on the "pontiffs of science alone, who devour it and whom it satiates, but should devolve upon the entire people, enter... and invest the hearts and souls of all those who seek to attain the truth..." — those who have the right to say: "I am a human being, and all that is human is not alien to me".

It is true that Skovoroda never protested against the institution of serfdom; but he continually protested against the debasement of the common people by their lords who scornfully considered them as a black, inert mass. To this the philosopher replied: "The common people, so it is said, are asleep... But every sleep ends in an awakening; and he who slumbers is not carrion, nor is he a dead, petrified body. Having had enough of slumbering, he will one day awaken, and after his full measure of dreaming, will rise and gather strength".

For being the spokesman of that "black" mass, Skovoroda was often derided as one who carries a candle before the blind, or as a bellringer for the deaf. To that the philosopher would reply with composure: "They know their affair, and I know mine, and act as I know best".

Long before anyone in eastern Europe thought seriously of the spiritual well-being of womankind, Skovoroda was the champion of that slighted half of humanity. Once when a clergyman snickered at the teaching of poetics to women, the philosopher was incensed: "And what is wrong with that? The men are educated tolerably enough, but the women, who are mothers, who share men's lives as consorts, remain ignorant. Are they not human beings? Are they not equal (with us) in their human nature?... Is that just?"

The effort to elevate the soil-blackened peasant to the status of a human being was begun by Ivan Vishensky (1550-1620) who in this respect may be considered Skovoroda's precursor and counterpart. Addressing the spiritual and worldly leaders of his age and clime, Vishensky exclaims: "How could you call yourselves spiritual, nay, even faithful, if you consider your brother, baptized by faith in the same bath of baptism and born in equality with you of one mother Grace, — how could you consider him inferior to yourselves? how could you bemean him and hold him insignificant?... I ask you, scorner of Christ's name, in what manner are you better than the

bondman? Are you not in all respects like the serf? — tell me. Are you not the same matter and clay? — inform me. Are you not the same flesh and blood... spittle and corruption? — enlighten me. And if you cannot reveal to me that you are all of stone, bone, or gold, but the same dung, flesh and blood as any man, how can you then claim to be better than the serf?"

The campaign of emancipation and enlightenment of the serfs was taken up by Skovoroda and, through his influence, carried on by Kotliarevsky, Shevchenko, Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Marko Vovchok, Hrebinka and others. Without unduly idealizing the peasant, Skovoroda and his disciples in this humanitarian-democratic field made a noble effort to efface the injustice done to those unfortunates and to make them conscious of their human worth.

The greatest influence in the realm of letters Skovoroda exerted upon Ivan Kotliarevsky, both in the latter's travesty of the *Aeneid* and the dramas. *Natalka-Poltavka*, for example, bears the moral that it is easy to do good, but difficult to do evil — one of Skovoroda's moral tenets. Shevchenko mentions that in his formative years Skovoroda's poems were a source of delight to him. His philosophic poems and fables also had much to do in the literary development of the fabulist Evhen Hrebinka.

Naturally enough, a man of such unorthodox convictions was a thorn in the side of the ecclesiastical body. The more tolerant of the clergy appreciated his unconventional pedagogy and, for fear of losing him, regarded his innovations in silence; but the majority were openly hostile to him. The main point of contention between them and him was his refusal to accept the Bible literally: its spirit was to him all in all. In order to drive him out of their midst, they accused him of all sorts of evils and heresies: of being a Manichean because he ate neither meat nor fish; of transgressing against Christ's command to love one's neighbours because he would often seclude himself for meditation; of being irreligious because he considered money as an evil. These foolish denunciations and petty persecutions Skovoroda suffered with Christian patience.

To fulfil the wish of Empress Catherine II, a course of Good Behaviour was established at the Collegium, and Skovoroda was asked to conduct it. The new task so pleased him that he even refused to accept remuneration for his pains. His very first lecture, however, revealed that his originality bordered dangerously on liberalism, a movement equivalent to the radicalism of our day. His book, entitled *The Rudimentary Guide to Good Manners*, caused him to be called to account for "improper" teaching. He was discharged, and once more became a wayfarer.

From that time on, for the next thirty years of his life, he wandered *per pedes apostolorum* from town to town, from community to community, many a time passing the night under the stars, living like the birds of the sky and the lilies of the field. Wherever he went,

he was welcomed with open arms by the poor and the rich alike, who were only too eager to minister to his needs. He became a peripatetic philosopher, a "wandering academy", and his auditorium was the entire Ukraine. His fame as a practical philosopher grew and expanded across the breadth of that steppe country, and wherever he moved it seemed as if he carried with him a soothing balm for the aches and misery of common humanity. It is said that at his approach cruel lords would even be swayed to mitigate their harsh treatment of the serfs.

Skovoroda loved his native land and its people. "My mother Malorossia and my aunt Ukraine", he would often call his country. Without it he could not exist, and when he travelled abroad, nostalgia he invariably suffered from, and he would long to return to the region with whose nature, songs and traditions he was one, whose expanse he had measured with his own feet. However, his was rather a sentiment of strong attachment to the land of his people. Nationality in the modern political sense was to him a hazy idea. But his yearning for his country's freedom was the bud from which modern Ukrainian nationhood evolved. Freedom he held to be of inestimable value, in comparison with which gold is as mud; and the embodiment of freedom he saw in the great *hetman* Bohdan Khmelnytsky whom he called the "father of liberty".

The first part of his missionary life Skovoroda devoted to the higher stratum of society — the clergy, nobility and gentry. In their own estates and in colleges he taught and exhorted them to mend their negative manner of life. Failing in that effort, he turned to the peasants. In public squares, on crossroads, at village fairs, in hovels, and even in barns he taught the people of the soil the road to spiritual perfection. The perfection of the soul was the common denominator whereby Skovoroda sought to reconcile the masters and the slaves. But even in this arena he did not succeed. The common people accepted the substance of his satiric poems but not his philosophy of the "heart" which, in fact, was too deep for them to plumb. For the reason it was only fitting that he should sum up his mission in this phrase: "The world tried to seize me, but did not". This was his epitaph.

The period of his wandering is not known in detail. Skovoroda was not a man to talk about himself; and Kovalinsky, his Boswell, was in Moscow at that time. For these reasons there is a gap of some twenty years during which hardly anything is known of his activity. Stories, however, were rife; among others, one relates how he escaped matrimony by abandoning his bride just as the marriage ceremony was about to commence. The girl later married someone else, much to the philosopher's relief. The only fact really known is that he never ceased to discuss the problems of life and matters spiritual with all and sundry, intriguing both young and old to exercise their mental faculties. Thus to his very end.

Death held no terror for Skovoroda. In his conception, man is immortal. His apparent decease is only the loss of his shadow. Life is a dream of the boundless and cogitating thought, and that thought, which is the core of life, is deathless. Man's body, being the shadow of the eternal, loses by death only its secular appurtenances, but immediately gains the attributes of a new sphere of being. Just as a child issues out of the mother's darkful and restricted womb, so does the soul, when the body dies, emerge out of the prison of temporal existence into the freedom of God's never-setting light. And so did Skovoroda go down the pilgrim's path, knowing full well that he is possessed by the life-giving thought, by the spirit as wide as the universe, by the heart which embraces and contains everything but itself is not contained. Life with all its fretting he knew to be the strivings of the thought to reach its end and its coinciding beginning. That it its haven and refuge.

For that reason Skovoroda was not afraid to cast off his mortal husk and its attendant joys and sorrows. Against that supreme change he had armed himself not with reason but with the wisdom which led him peacefully to reconcile himself with the will of the Maker. One is therefore not at all surprised at the scene of his final moments on earth: — It was at Kovalinsky's manor. After a cheery supper, during which Skovoroda entertained his host and fellow-guests, he suddenly rose and disappeared into the night. Some time later Kovalinsky found him digging a grave in a secluded spot. Having requested to be buried in it, the philosopher retired, changed into fresh linen and during the night peacefully breathed his last.

His life welled with altruism. In the words of his later biographer Snegirev, "he lived more for others than for himself, imparted to the people sincere truth, and died without regretting his life as a wanderer, in the course of which he was both a disciple and a master, a singer and a shepherd, but always a sage, striving to rise above his surroundings, to preserve strictly his self-appointed principles, and not to submit to the common thought when it tends to withdraw one from truth and virtue". All his life he reacted against the crass materialism of his day, and by his own example revealed the path to the moral ideal in which truth and wisdom are one.

Skovoroda is often referred to as the "Ukrainian Socrates". No doubt this comparison is valid. Like his Grecian counterpart, the Ukrainian preached self-knowledge for the purpose of the social and moral amelioration of mankind; he likewise used the method of oral inquiry and a similar form of dialectics. In all this, of course, he is inferior to the Greek. In the power of his feeling, however, he is superior, for it must be borne in mind that Skovoroda was a greater idealist than Socrates.

Taking into account the benighted age in which he lived, Skovoroda's knowledge was quite extensive. His first teacher was Nature itself, to which his impressionistic years were abandoned almost

totally. His training in the Academy cannot have been systematic; it was, however, rounded out by his own desultory readings. Mainly through his own effort he acquired a thorough mastery of the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and German languages. Ancient Greek philosophy was only second to the Bible among the subjects of his predilection. He was well acquainted with the pre-Socratic period, Socrates himself, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Plutarch; in Roman literature — with Virgil, Cicero, Lucian, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, Terence. Next in the line of his interest were the Church Fathers. He also paid close attention to the more recent scientific progress as represented by Copernicus and Newton.

The greatest flaw in his literary endeavour is the language which he used. He wrote in a macaronic Slavic, a conglomeration of Russian, Ukrainian and Old Church Slavonic. Besides, his style is ponderous and involved. In his daily intercourse with the people, however, he spoke pure and unadulterated Ukrainian.

It has been claimed that Skovoroda is a "philosopher without a system". In certain respect this is true, for, as S. Yefremov states, "his teachings stand comparison with Socrates, Epicurus, pantheism, dualism, idealism", and many other — isms. What makes him distinct and a philosopher in his own right is his spiritual and ethical hedonism. The happiness of the inner man was his goal. All that is necessary to attain that bliss is to be found within the individual; all that lies without is superfluous and might just as well be disregarded. The pass word that opens the door to genuine happiness is "Know thyself!" For "nothing is more important, more beneficial, more exalted than to discover oneself and to feel in one's ashes the buried spark of blessedness". That is the Socratic core of all his teaching. Self-knowledge is the greatest of virtues and a basic one. It ramifies into all other virtues, the sum of which is happiness, the greatest good. To know oneself is, in reality, to recognize oneself as a part of Divinity.

Skovoroda's philosophy may appear abstract to one who comes in to contact with it for the first time. Nonetheless if it is analyzed even slightly, it becomes apparent that he seeks to effect a harmony between the individual and society. In that, too, lies happiness, for one cannot, after all, refuse to conform to the prevailing conventionality. Neither can a man become a stylite. It is true that spiritual bliss is preeminent, but while one lives it must be supplemented by that contentment which follows the fulfilment of the tasks exactly by one's physical milieu. In this, as in everything else, Skovoroda was an example for others to follow. He, too, "joined his innate, particular duty with the general obligation". Such was his political morality.

This is the cross-section of Skovoroda's philosophy: —

Life is philosophy, and philosophy is life. The chief reason for human existence, the fountain-head of human actions is the spirit of

man, his thoughts and his heart. The aim of philosophy is to give wisdom to the spirit, nobility to the heart, and clarity to the thoughts. These three features go to constitute the happiness of an individual. And happiness is the aim of all positive philosophy.

Since Skovoroda's philosophy is idealistic and its aspect religious-moral, he makes the "heart" the center of all things, for it is the source of human will and emotions, which, in turn, give rise to thought and action.

Following the symbolism of the Bible and ancient writings, Skovoroda couches his own philosophy in figures and images, decking them, as it were, in pristine signs. That is its first characteristic. The second is its antithetic method.

This manner of philosophising Skovoroda borrows from the Sophists, Plato, Plotinus, and Paul the Apostle (cf. "though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich". — Cor. 2, 8-9). The world and all it contains presents itself to Skovoroda in a maze of antitheses. In reality there exist two worlds: one visible the other — invisible. The symbol of life is a tree, the shadow of which represents evanescence. The tree stands firmly, but its shadow is now prolonged and now shortened. So it is with Nature and life: growth, decline, decay. The eternal and the temporal are united with things like the shadow is united with the tree. Matter exists eternally, but its form is changeable. The visible and invisible aspects of the world are quite distinct, and yet there is but one indivisible universe.

By developing this method Skovoroda came to the conclusion that there is "eternity in transiency, life in death, awakening in sleep, light in darkness"; in individual life: "truth in falsehood, joy in weeping, hope in despair"; and in spiritual experience: "sweetness is the reward of bitterness, and bitterness is the mother of sweetness". These opposites are formed in Nature and merge to compose an absolute whole, as in a circle, where the beginning and the end are one.

Everything that one sees, feels, imagines, including God, is of a double nature. Man is a compound of two parts: one earthly and visible (the creature); the other celestial and invisible (God). The latter is, of course, preeminent, since in nature "that which is invisible is more powerful". The same applies to other natural phenomena, e.g. there are two waters, two airs, two fires, with the material and the divine in each. There is no fusion of the two, and yet they are inseparable, joined irrevocably into a single hypostasis. Matter is not God, nor is God Matter, although He exists within it, without it and above it. To Plato Matter is the "place" where the realization of ideas is brought about; to Skovoroda Matter is the "place" for the vestige of God's imprint.

The world is in perpetual motion which consists of the composite movement of the opposites. All in it disintegrates, and reunites to

revive only to disintegrate anew. Thus endlessly. This process Skovoroda compares to a minute fig seed: "Open your eyes and consider... its power; you shall see and be convinced that within it is concealed the whole tree with its fruit and seeds... numberless millions of fig-tree orchards are contained therein... when the old seeds decays in the soil, new venture emerges therefrom (to prove) that where there is a relapse there is also a renovation". In other words, where death is, there is likewise a resurrection, with death itself becoming the life-giving force. This analogy, of course, is not original with Skovoroda. He merely paraphrases Philo the Alexandrian, Plotinus and the more recent German mystics who also compared the world to the life of a plant reduced to its seed.

The flesh is the shadow of the inner real man who, in all certainty, is God. Consequently, self-love is the love of God. Narcissus, contemplating his image in the watery mirror, falls in love with himself, hence with God who is in him. The inner man Skovoroda considers to be the "heart", which is the source of thought. "What is the heart if not the soul? What is the soul if not a bottomless abyss of thoughts? What is thought if not the root, the seed of our flesh, blood and other external matter?" And he exclaims: "O heart!... how profound art thou! Thou embracest and supportest everything, but nothing contains thee". The "heart" therefore is the compendium of the life of the entire universe.

Even to ethics Skovoroda applies his antithetic method. Passivity is, in reality, ethical activity, and humility its perfection. To conform to the will of God, one must do away with one's own will and accept God's volition in all things. Man must lose himself in God in order to find himself in the bosom of divine peace and freedom, and become like a ball "to which it is indifferent where it rolls". Only then does man become like unto God. The path to godhead, however, is through the annihilation of his soul, which, in effect, is its purification from earthly passions, desires and cares. These to the soul are what diseases are to the body.

The paradox of "unequal equality" is rationalized in Skovoroda's philosophy in the following manner: — In God's sight all men are equal, but among themselves they are unequal, because they "do not all possess equally the living thought". God fills every part of his creation fully, but only in the measure of the various capacities of things. Speaking figuratively, water can fill the vessels to their very brims, but its quantity depends on how much this or that vessel can contain. So it is with men.

Man is the measure of all things. His heart (which in Skovoroda's philosophy is hardly tinged with sentimentality) is the abysmal abode of God himself, who is Nature in its entirety. Hence man is the microcosm of the macrocosm. From this conception stems Skovoroda's injunction, which is the key-stone of his philosophy: — "Know

thyself", "listen to thyself", "look into thyself". There lies the source of all knowledge and wisdom which increase with "rumination". To Skovoroda, as to Philo, a ruminative animal is the symbol of contemplation.

It is only too apparent that the beginning and the end of Skovoroda's cogitation is to seek and find God. And what is God? Nature, Universal Wisdom, the Being of Things, Time, Eternity, Inevitability, Truth, Love. Under these and other guises the philosopher strives to constitute Him in all clarity. And the material for that research is not far to seek, for it is within him, where resides the "genuine man"

Skovoroda is not an archaic philosopher altogether. He has a message even for our scientific and materialistic age in which spiritual values are mercilessly sacrificed to the Beezlebub of Utilitarianism. In our times, as he did in his own, he might ask: — Is it fair to the human heart and mind so to debase man as to render him all matter and no soul? We have "fathomed the sea, measured the earth, air, firmament, disturbed the entrails of the earth in order to extract metals therefrom; we have computed the orbits of the planets, searched out the mountains, rivers, cities (*sic!*) on the moon, found an untold number of unknown worlds: we construct complicated machines, fill abysses, divert and direct water currents, and every day we achieve new accomplishments.. " And yet! Of what avail are all these achievements in science if they serve only to make confusion more confounded, if they produce in life one chasm after another, each time more profound! Of what avail indeed is the effort if man is thereby reduced to a soul-less creature and the divinity within him is crushed by the coarse ingress of the materialistic demon into the heart of humanity! Only that knowledge which enhances the human worth and improves the quality of life is of importance. Writes Skovoroda: "I do not censure science (on the contrary) I commend the lowliest craft". What deserves reproof is our disregard of the "highest science, to which every age, clime, generation, sex has the door open". That, of course, is the science of the "heart".

In yet one other respect is his message valid in our age: — The present headlong rush for material bliss would appear mad to Skovoroda. All that senseless bustle, he might say, is not conducive to genuine happiness, and the effort spent in attaining physical comforts is too wasteful in comparison with the results, because the appetite increases with the consumption and is never assuaged. To this age, as to his own, Skovoroda would likewise raise the cry — Temperance! and advise that "God made all that is necessary easy to attain, and all things difficult — unnecessary".

